THE NEW CHINA REVIEW.

VOL. I. AUGUST, 1919. No. 4.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
PROSPECT HILL, PEKING (ETCHING) -	MAJOR W. PERCEVAL YETTS	*Frontispiece*
THE SECRET OF THE "RED CHAMBER" -	By W. ARTHUR CORNABY	329
LA DOMINATION CHINOISE EN ANNAM - -	By CH. B. MAYBON	340
THE FIRST LEAGUE OF NATIONS - -	By REV. G. G. WARREN	356
STUDIES IN CHINESE PSYCHOLOGY -	By HERBERT CHATLEY, D.SC.	368
A STUDY IN EARLY CHINESE RELIGION -	By ARTHUR MORLEY	372
THE NINGPO FISHERIES - - -	By C. A. S. WILLIAMS	385
SOME INCIDENTS IN CONFUCIUS' DAYS -	By PROF. E. H. PARKER	389
A TRIP UP THE YANG-TZE KIANG - - - - - - - -		397
NOTE ON THE INVENTION OF WOODCUTS -	By ARTHUR WALEY	412
CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS -	By REV. J. HUTSON	416
A LITTLE-KNOWN CHINESE WRITER -	By E. T. C. WERNER	435
NOTES AND QUERIES - - - - - - - - -		439
RECENT LITERATURE - - - - - - - - -		444

HONGKONG: KELLY & WALSH, LIMITED.

The Editor will be pleased to receive suitable articles, notes, etc., and will return MSS. not accepted for publication.

When accepted articles are printed, twenty-five copies will be sent to the writer.

Subscriptions are payable in advance and are as follows for the six numbers of 1919; Great Britain, 30s., *post free;* United States, G. $7.50, *post free;* China, Japan, etc., Mex. $9.60 *post free.*

In consequence of war restrictions, etc., no agencies have at present been appointed in Great Britain and America. Subscribers in Europe and U.S.A. should send orders and subscriptions (crossed cheques or P. O. O.) direct to the Editor.

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Editor: *Samuel Couling, Medhurst College, Shanghai, China.*

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THE NEW
CHINA REVIEW

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THE SECRET OF THE "RED CHAMBER"

BY

W. ARTHUR CORNABY

IT is a common remark in China that "Everyone has read the *Dream of the Red Chamber*." Of novels pure and simple it is by far the most famous in the language. True, among the populace at large, the leading personages of the *Three Realms* have been more widely quoted, and the doings of several of them dramatised; but the popular work known under that name is an exceedingly clever expansion, by a 14th century author, of genuine historical happenings chronicled in brief by an historian towards the end of the 3rd century, and thus can hardly be called a novel pure and simple. The *Dream of the Red Chamber* evidently is such;—at least everybody regarded it as such until the last few years, when some startling theories have been made current concerning its historical importance, as it is the purpose of this article to explain.

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To most educated Chinese, this novel, despite great length (about 4,000 pages) is as familiar as is the play of Hamlet to English readers. Many of its numerous personages live and move in the Chinese imagination like familiar friends. And as the story ends so tragically, no less than seven sequels have been published earlier or later. The first of these would seem to be the *After Dream of the Red Upper-chamber* 後紅樓夢, undated, but professing to be from a signed and sealed Ms. of the editor, and reputed author, of the original *Dream*, 曹雪芹. The second, dated 1798, is called *Supplementary Dream of the Red Upper-chamber* 續紅樓夢; in the author's preface to which the original work is said to have been relished by the reading public for now "some tens of years," thus dating it about the beginning of the latter half of the 18th century.

The largest of the sequels is a rare work of thirty octavo volumes, called 紅樓復夢 "The Dream of the Red Upper-chamber Re-dreamt" and dated 1799. And in a fourth work 紅樓夢補 "Dream of the Red Upper-chamber Addenda," published in 1819 (and reprinted in 1913) the author has caught the style and spirit of the orginal and has produced a satisfactory and convincing sequel. The rest, in tiniest lithographed type, are too trivial or vulgar to be worthy of note. But good, bad, or indifferent as these various sequels may be, their composition and publication bear eloquent testimony to the intense human interest and outstanding genius of the original work.

What was the status of the original author? And what was his impelling motive (if any) for the heavy output of literary energy required to produce this *magnum opus?* These are questions which have been asked by many a student.

° In order to do this it has been necessary for these later novelists to bring several deceased personages back to life again, incidentally depicting the unseen world as imagined by the Chinese: a fact which induced the present writer to make these sequels a special study some years ago. For Chinese popular theology and eschatology is after all the theology and eschatology of Chinese novels.

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From the graphic portrayal of his numerous characters (about 400 in all), in which no one of them is ever confused with another, the general conclusion has been that the author must have been a private secretary in one of the princely households of the capital, who drew from the life. And as to his motive in doing so, the theory has gained currency that this private secretary fell into disgrace from his misconduct with one of the slave-girls, and wrote his book in revenge for that disgrace, showing up the weaknesses of all save her, and finally landing the whole family in tragic distresses and ruin,—with the devout hope that this would indeed be their portion by and by.

In the introductory portion of the first chapter of the work, as we now have it, the name of Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in (曹雪芹) is quoted as an early editor who "altered and toned-down the original five times." This was in consequence of the original *Dream of the Red Chamber* having been prohibited by government. And that prohibition has been so often renewed in regard to the "altered and toned-down" work that for many years the only copies on sale have been called by the innocent title of *The Stone Records* (石頭記). Hence arises the most interesting question of all: What family has there been in Peking of such an exalted nature that its descendants could get the government, once or twice each century, statedly to suppress and re-suppress a work of fiction dealing with the lives of the forbears of that family? And as long as the Manchu dynasty lasted, none dare answer that question publicly in print.

At this stage let us remind ourselves (or state for the benefit of those who may not be familiar with the work) what is the scope of this famous novel.*

It opens with the statement that the author is "concealing true matters" and dealing with dreamy unsubstantialities instead (a hint that his work has an inner meaning). Then follows a magniloquent account of the founding of the universe from 36,500 blocks of precious jade-stone (the days of

* An able résumé of the novel is given by Prof. H. A. Giles in the *Journal of the China Branch of the Roval Asiatic Society*, Vol. XX, No. 1, 1885.

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the year multiplied by 100). There was indeed an extra block prepared, but this was disused by the Goddess of Works, and left out of the original structure. This block of jade-stone, in the course of ages, became spiritualised and self-conscious. It roamed about the mountains of the empyrean until it chanced to discover a lovely gem-flower which it thereupon took under its shelter, watering it with the choicest nectar of the sky, until the lovely gem-flower became transformed into a lovely girl; who, in her new-found ecstasy of life, promised in the ages to come (when she and the living stone should both be embodied together on earth) to pay for that celestial moisture with her tears. An introduction, this, which seems intended to prepare the reader for a pathetic love-story of an exalted personage and some maiden beloved.

Instead of this the story itself opens by describing the early years of a handsome spoilt boy (of the surname Chia 賈 "Merchant") into whose father's sumptuous establishment in Peking there comes from the South a little motherless girl cousin who is delicate, refined, and studious beyond her years, but rather a cry-baby withal. In the innocent childhood of both of them, she at first shares his room as a little sister might. The twain do indeed become brother and sister, indulged by the fond grandmother of the lad. That lad is called Pao-yü (寶玉 apparently "Precious Gem," though that would be a girl's name rather than a boy's), and was born with a gem-tablet in his mouth. His "sister" is called Tai-yü (黛玉 "Dark Gem").

The huge establishment in Peking is represented as a double one, consisting of two mansions side by side, each with an elaboration of buildings and a spacious garden. The etiquette of these professedly Chinese households is invariably that of the Manchu Court. And there would seem to be a special significance (when once pointed out) in the names of the heads of this double household. The elder of two brothers Chia (uncle of Pao-yü) bears the personal name of *Se*, and his wife was surnamed *Hsing*; while the younger of the two (father of Pao-yü) bears the personal name of *Chêng* (政 of "government"), and his wife was surnamed *Wang* (王 of "prince"). Now if we combine the four sounds *Se-hsing-*

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chêng-wang, changing the characters for the former pair, we may write them down as 攝行政王, which is the full title for a Prince Regent.

Here is a hitherto neglected hint which might lead the reader to ask whether the so-called "Pao-yü" might not stand for some young man who was under the care of a Prince Regent. Then, in Chinese, most adjectives readily become verbs; and the name 寶玉 Pao-yü, if interpreted as "Precious Gem" is too girlish for a boy; but taking the *Pao* as a verb, the name would mean "One who treasures a gem." We should then gain the clue: A young man in the charge of the Prince Regent, who treasures a certain gem,—evidently a girl whom he regards as such, and whose name probably contains the sign 玉 for "gem."

It that be so, we have in the writer of this novel a genius who was writing for posterity, and who had to steer his course between two considerations: (1) a fear lest the reader should too readily understand his inner meaning, and (2) a fear lest no reader should eventually grasp the meaning of his veiled historical portraiture. Such indeed is a remark of the latest and ablest editor of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*.

But to resume. Before very long Pao-yü's mother's sister was compelled by circumstances to seek a home in the capital. She brought with her a young daughter Pao-ch'ai (寶釵), Pao-yü's other girl-cousin, slightly older than he; and the mother and daughter were invited to settle down in the capacious mansion of their Peking relatives. Pao-yü, Tai-yü, and Pao-ch'ai soon became fast friends. Pao-yü loved the society of either or both. But Tai-yü, spite of her reticence in Pao-yü's presence, soon began to regard the handsome and winsome boy as part of herself. And Pao-yü in his inmost heart came to realise that between him and Tai-yü there was a mystic and indissoluble affinity. At first sight of her, indeed, he had affirmed that he had met her somewhere before.

One day he was invited out to the mansion of a relative, and here, in an annex to the sleeping apartment of his hostess, he had the dream which gives its name to the book. His dream was an excursion into Fairyland, where he gained some

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initiation into his approaching manhood, and also into the vanity of the earthly passion-life,—the latter consideration becoming a seed-thought which was to bear strange fruit in his ultimate career.

After some years (his father holding office at a distance from home) his grandmother and mother decided that he should marry. Everyone knew his inner preference for Tai-yü, but that maiden had always been delicate, and now seemed seriously ill. So a consequential lady of the household persuaded his grandmother and mother to deceive Pao-yü into marrying Pao-ch'ai instead. Thus Pao-ch'ai was brought in, under the thick red veil worn by Chinese brides (the author avowedly describing a *Chinese* family), and to her Pao-yü plighted his troth—believing her to be his own Tai-yü. Then later, when he lifted the veil of his bride, he broke down completely. And on hearing the news of the marriage, the sick Tai-yü just gasped the words: "O Pao-yü! Pao-yü!" and died.

A little before this Pao-yü had lost the jade tablet which had been born with him, and which was the talisman of his destiny. He became absent-minded and listless, and the family fortunes also began to decline. And now, hearing of the death of Tai-yü (the living analogue of his gem) he swooned away, but had a dream in which he was exhorted to attend to the duties of life. And this, in spite of several relapses, he endeavoured to do. With an air of aloofness from earthly honours he competed in the great Imperial examinations, gaining the seventh place on the list of successful candidates. But at this stage, he, Pao-yü, the one hope of the failing fortunes of the princely house, disappeared entirely! He had secretly withdrawn from the world forever, to a monastery on the Wu-t'ai mountain in Shansi.

His father, on a boat-journey in midwinter, happened to see on the bank in the moonlight, silhouetted against the snow, the kneeling figure of a young Buddhist monk whom he identified as his lost son. Then the monk disappeared, and he saw him no more.

To this brief summary it is only necessary to add that the novelist, towards the beginning of his work, most un-

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accountably introduces a description of another Pao-yü, if of a different surname, who resembled him in disposition and in features, but resided at Nanking.

Such then (with this interpolation added) is the plot of this elaborate work of genius. And few until recently seem to have identified Pao-yü with any well-known historical personage. But the documents containing the full history of any reigning family in China are, by old custom, withheld from publication (or withdrawn from publication if any of them have been made public surreptitiously) until the collapse of that dynasty. And it happens that, in addition to this novel, certain works of the 17th century authors Wu Mei-ts'un (吳梅村) and Wang Yü-yang (王漁洋) together with certain poems, have been suppressed by government orders.

As to the influence of women at Court, whether those women have been wise and noble consorts or great and unscrupulous dowagers, or whether they have been young girls of fascinating appearance and manners, a long series of historical articles could be written. In some dynasties, no less than in the French Court of Louis XIII and onwards, certain ladies in China have been the wire-pullers and history-makers.

Turning to the sketch of Wu San-kuei (吳三桂) in Prof. Giles' *Biographical Dictionary*, for instance, we read: ". . . A native of the province of Liao-tung, employed during the closing years of the Ming dynasty as a commander of the forces engaged in resisting the Manchu Tartars In A.D. 1643, whilst at the head of his troops at a point near the frontier, he received intelligence of the capture of Peking by the rebel (blacksmith) Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, and of the suicide of the Emperor. The next thing he heard was that Li Tzŭ-ch'êng had put his father Wu Hsiang to death, and had taken possession of his (Wu San-kuei's) favourite concubine. Then he tended his allegiance to the Manchu sovereign (upon certain conditions which are stated) The result of this move was the recapture of Peking and the establishment of the dynasty of the Manchu Tartars."

Now it happens that of the several items of bad news which Wu San-kuei received, the last was the determining factor in his conduct, for he forsook all to search for and regain the girl (陳元 t. 圓圓) who had fascinated him.

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And thus this girl-lover of the brave young general became the determining factor in the establishment of the Ta Ch'ing dynasty in China.

The boy-emperor under whose reign title of Shun Chih (順治) that dynasty began in Peking in the year 1644 was the seventh of a line of Northern rulers (and Pao-yü, we remember, gained the seventh place on the examination lists). He was then but nine years of age, and the government was in the hands of his uncle Dorgun until that uncle died in 1649. The Regent at first held the title of "Imperial Father" (皇父), and thus was both uncle and "father" to the young Emperor. The whole country had by no means submitted to the Manchus; there was a rival sovereign (the dissipated Fu Wang, son of the last of the Mings) enthroned for a while at Nanking (and Pao-yü is represented as having a double who lived there). Shun Chih remained on the throne, ruling with mild magnanimity, but devoid of commanding energy, until 1661, when his third son succeeded him as the illustrious K'ang Hsi, in a long reign dating from 1662. So much is well known historical fact.

But now, from the evidence of once-suppressed books and poems, the editor and commentator of the latest edition of the novel* claims to have proved the following items:

The young Emperor Shun Chih was enamoured of a certain Chinese girl (named 小琬 t. 白) of remarkable beauty and genius but of rather delicate health, who entered the palace under the patronage of the fond Empress Dowager at the age of 26 or 27, when the Emperor was 25 years old (1659). Her surname was Tung (董) and in the palace she was called "Imperial Concubine Tung-O" (董鄂妃). Here she became a general favourite, winning the heart of the Empress Dowager in particular; and Shun Chih wanted to make her his Empress in place of the less-brilliant Manchu girl who had been parentally chosen for him, but was checked in his endeavours to do so (if for no other reason than the

* 紅樓夢索隱, a fine edition in ten comely volumes, published by the 中華書局 Shanghai; the editor writing under the *nom de plume* of 悟眞道人 "The Taoist who has awakened to the Truth"

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strict Court rule that none but a Manchu could be Consort supreme); whereupon she sickened and died. Then the young Emperor had her immediately ennobled by a posthumous title of Imperial significance (端敬皇后), and after that, being unable to recover from his loss, he wrote a personal *apologia*, and retired from the world to the Wu-t'ai mountain monastery, where he was afterwards known as "The passionate monk" (情僧. And as it was clearly inadvisable to make that fact public, especially at the beginning of a new dynasty, the "death" of Shun Chih was diplomatically arranged, and his last obsequies also. But in the earlier years of his reign, K'ang Hsi was wont to repair to the Wu-t'ai mountain in company with Empress Dowager ("widow" of Shun Chih), and later with his own young Consort,—a series of journeys which hardly admit of any other explanation than that of filial regard for someone then living on Wu-t'ai Shan.

Should we accept the leductions of this scholarly editor as feasible, we then possess a key to the chief enigma of this long work, and its *raison d'être* becomes readily understandable. Especially so as the editor finds a hint in the second chapter that *its author was a scion of a noble family of the Ming dynasty* (and thus no mere private secretary), who may have had sources of first-hand information concerning the doings within the Manchu palace, as well as "having known the Nanking (Ming) family for many years"; and who would naturally regard this first reign of the invading Family as giving little indication of the permanence and prosperity of that Family in days to come.

Here then is this explanation, startling indeed at first, which the editor gradually unfolds in a series of introductory paragraphs, and amplifies in the numerous comments with which he elucidates the text. In these latter his task is a complicated one, for often he is wandering in a veritable

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* A fact which was certainly not without historical parallel, for Liang Wu Ti (A.D. 502-559) thus retired three times from his throne, the third time never to return. But the comments of the centuries upon him have ever been those of pitying contempt.

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dreamland where one personage merges in another, where dissection of the written characters (of the sort practised by fortune-tellers) and literary puns and inversions abound. And, as a blind to the Manchu censors, the author every now and then seems to be describing the career of Yüan-yüan, the girl-favourite of Wu San-kuei, rather than the "leading lady" of the drama, Hsiao-yüan of the inner palace.

The many-sided personality of Hsiao-yüan, the Chinese girl so beloved by Shun Chih, is depicted in the novel by no less than seven different girls, only one of whom is represented as being about her actual age. This one is 秦可卿, the lady in whose ante-chamber Pao-yü dreamt his dream of celestial admonition, and to whom in his dream he was married. The other six are represented at about half her actual age, so as to give colour to their close sisterly relations with the boy Pao-yü, who is also represented at about half the actual age of the Emperor Shun Chih.*

But the chief analogue of Shun Chih's beloved is of course Tai-yü. Her name means "Dark Gem" (a rather strange name for a radiant "gem" of a girl, thus preparing the reader to find some inner meaning therein); but instead of the simple word 黑 for "black," the character 黛 *tai* is used, formed of "black" with the sign 代 "instead of" at the top. Thus she is someone called "Black" who stands "instead of" some person of consequence. Now, the girl who fascinated the young Emperor being named Hsiao-yüan (小琬 "Little Jade or Gem Sceptre") the second character of the name contains the gem radical 王. And her "intimate name" was 白 "White." The "gem-girl" Miss Black thus stands for the "gem-girl" Miss White. A specimen, this, of the *double entendre* which abounds throughout the long novel.

Tai-yü's original home was Soochow, which was the first home of Hsiao-yüan. Tai-yü was scholarly, refined, and delicate, as was Hsiao-yüan. And her dying of disappointed love at the news of Pao-yü's marriage to another is of course the analogue of Hsiao-yüan's dying of disappointed ambition,

* The seven girls are given as 黛玉, 秦可卿, 寶釵 occasionally, 寶琴, 晴雯, 襲人 and 妙玉.

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when Shun Chih's plans for making her Empress finally fell through.

Thus, by pointing out a thousand and one designed coincidences, the latest editor of China's most famous novel seems to convince the reader that he has unravelled the secret of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*.

He has certainly given Chinese scholars, and Western students of Chinese, a topic for interesting research and cogitation.

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LA DOMINATION CHINOISE EN ANNAM

(111 av. J. C.—939 ap. J. C.)

PAR

CH. B. MAYBON

(Suite et fin)

3.—L'ADMINISTRATION CHINOISE

Tous les hommes qui administrèrent le pays d'Annam ne furent pas des parangons de probité et de justice. Les hauts fonctionnaires envoyés par le gouvernement central, et, à leur exemple, les agents secondaires (assez fréquemment choisis sur place, surtout à dater du I^er^ siècle après notre ère) se montrèrent souvent plus préoccupés de leur bien propre que de l'intérêt général. Il faut ajouter, comme on dirait aujourd'hui, que leur recrutement laissait fort à désirer.

"Quand il s'agit de choisir un fonctionnaire pour une contrée en dehors des neuf provinces," écrivait un préfet de l'Annam à l'Empereur dans la première moitié du III^e^ siècle, "il y a des chances pour que cela soit fait sans soin." *

En effet, le nombre était petit de ceux qui désiraient servir si loin du centre de l'Empire, et les nominations, le plus souvent, étaient à qui les demandait, quels que fussent la valeur morale ou les antécédents du candidat. On vit aussi, à maintes reprises, un fonctionnaire de l'Empire envoyé en pays d'Annam par disgrâce, parce qu'il avait démérité. D'une manière générale, la plupart des administrateurs désignés par la Chine se montraient indifférents au sort du pays: ils ne songeaient qu'à le quitter au plus vite, et fortune faite, s'il était possible.

Après avoir rappelé quelques faits regrettables, le préfet qui vient d'être cité, ajoutait: "c'est en considérant ces faits que je peux parler ainsi: pour gouverner un de ces pays de la frontière, tout dépend de l'homme que l'on choisit. Il y faut des gouverneurs intègres et capables. Dans ces pays éloignés, ils servent de modèles, et selon qu'ils sont bons ou mauvais, la contrée est dans le bonheur ou dans la peine."

* *Abrégé de l'histoire d'Annam*, trad. Sainson, p. 257.

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Et le peuple est calme ou en révolte, aurait pu ajouter le préfet.

L'avidité, les concussions, la cruauté des uns ont causé des émeutes et des rébellions, qui furent réprimées toujours avec vigueur; quelquefois non sans peine; l'équité, la douceur, l'intégrité des autres ont poussé une population semi-barbare dans une voie de progrès et de civilisation.

Les histoires dynastiques chinoises et les ouvrages annamites compilés à partir du XIV° siècle nous laissent connaître un certain nombre de bons gouverneurs ou préfets.*

Si-Kouang 錫光 (an. Tich-Quang) était gouverneur du Giao-Chỉ au commencement de l'ère chrétienne; il passe pour avoir inculqué au peuple qu'il administrait les principes de la morale confucéenne et pour avoir introduit dans le pays certaines coutumes chinoises. Il est probable aussi que, comme la plupart des premiers fonctionnaires chinois soucieux de leurs devoirs, il se soit efforcé de tourner vers les travaux agricoles l'esprit d'une population qui faisait surtout sa nourriture des produits de la pêche et de la chasse.

Jen-Yen 任延 (an. Nhâm-Diên) était préfet de la commanderie de Cửu-Chơn sous le règne de l'Empereur Kouang-Wou 光武 (25-58 ap. J. C.). Les habitants de ce pays, raconte l'histoire des Han postérieurs 後漢, vivaient surtout de la pêche et de la chasse; ils ignoraient l'art de cultiver la terre; le peuple devait acheter son riz dans les districts voisins et souvent il avait à souffrir de la famine. Jen-Yen lui apprit à défricher les terres incultes et à faire des rizières. D'année en année, la culture se développa dans le pays, et les habitants

° Il est bon de noter ici qu'il ne faut pas accepter sans contrôle les dates du *Cang-Muc* 綱目, qui reproduit la plupart des erreurs des Sử-Kí 史記 et du Sử-Kí-Toàn-Thơ 史記全書, et se trouve par suite assez souvent en désaccord avec les annales dynastiques chinoises: non seulement la chronologie est erronée, mais encore l'ordre de succession des gouverneurs est parfois interverti. *L'abrégé de l'histoire d'Annam* 安南史畧 n'est pas plus sûr à ce point de vue; en outre, j'ai pu constater, en comparant l'édition imprimée à Changhai d'un manuscrit qui se trouve au British Museum depuis 1843, que dans ces deux exemplaires de l'ouvrage de Lê-Tắc 黎崱, les différences sont nombreuses et que les biographies de certains personnages sont doublement interverties. Cf. *Bull. Ec. fr. E. O.*, 1910. p. 250-7.

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eurent bientôt des récoltes suffisantes pour satisfaire à leurs besoins.

D'autre part, avant l'arrivée de Jen-Yen, ils ignoraient les rites du mariage. Le préfet les leur fit connaître; il ordonna qu'une partie du traitement des fonctionnaires qui relevaient de lui fût attribuée aux pauvres qui ne pouvaient offrir les cadeaux de mariage. Le nombre de ceux qui se marièrent s'éléva en un seul jour jusqu'à dix mille.*

En outre, cette année-là, le vent et la pluie furent favorables et la récolte fut abondante. Des enfants naquirent; on leur donna le nom de Jen 任. Tous disaient dans le pays: "c'est à notre préfet que nous devons de connaître le bonheur."

Cette description idyllique du gouvernement de Jen-Yen a suggéré à Tự-Đức 詞德 la réflexion suivante: "Le fondateur de la dynastie des Triêu 趙 qui régna sur l'Annam, était un Chinois. D'après les réponses qu'il faisait aux lettres de l'Empereur, il est facile de voir qu'il n'était pas sans instruction et sans expérience. Comment peut-on croire qu'il n'eût pas enseigné à son peuple l'agriculture et les rites du mariage? Ce qui est invraisemblable aussi, c'est que dix mille personnes se soient mariées en un seul jour. On peut constater par là que les récits de cette époque ne soit pas conformes à la vérité!"

Il est, en effet, difficile de prendre à la lettre tous ces détails; mais il s'y trouve certainement un fond de vérité. Et Jen-Yen qui fut un des premiers fonctionnaires chinois envoyés par le pays, a dû être un administrateur bienveillant et juste, soucieux du bien-être et des progrès des habitants.

La plupart de ceux qui suivirent pendant une période d'environ deux cents ans, se montrèrent avides et méchants; il y eut plusieurs rebellions; vers la fin du II siècle, le pays tout entier allait être gagné par la révolte lorsque l'Empereur envoya Kia-S'ong 賈宋 (An. Giả-Tống). Arrivée dans sa province, il fit une proclamation, engageant le peuple à vaquer tranquillement à ses occupations et invitant les habitants qui avaient abandonné leurs demeures par suite des troubles à y

* D'après le *Cang-Muc*, Lê-Tắc se contente de dire que deux mille personnes se marièrent.

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revenir. Il leur promettait de les gouverner avec douceur, de ramener les impôts à un taux modéré; de leur donner des fonctionnaires honnêtes. Le peuple rentra dans l'ordre et il courut une chanson qui disait: "Notre père Giá a bien tardé; s'il était venu plus tôt, le pays n'aurait pas été troublé; mais à présent tout va bien et nul ne songe à se révolter." *

Quelques années plus tard, pendant la période d'agitation qui accompagna la fin de la dynastie des Han (début du IIIe siècle), un gouverneur nommé Tchou-Fou 朱扶 (An. Châu-Phu), souleva le pays par sa tyrannie et fut tué par les révoltés †: c'est à ce moment qu'arriva comme préfet de la province l'un des hommes qui ont laissé dans l'Annam les plus vivaces souvenirs, Che-Sié 士燮 (An. Sĩ-Nhiếp),

Il était originaire du pays de Lou où Confucius avait vu le jour. Il appartenait à une famille qui, au moment de l'usurpation de l'Empire par Wang-Mang 王莽, s'était réfugiée dans le Giao-Chỉ. Son père avait été préfet dans la commanderie de Nhựt-Nam 日南 et l'avait fait élever avec soin; Sĩ-Nhiếp, ayant passé l'examen de licencié avait obtenu un emploi dans un ministère. Quand son père mourut, il fut lui-même nommé préfet; il était très bon et très juste; ses administrés l'entouraient de respect. Lorsque le gouverneur Tchou-Fou fut tué par le peuple en révolte, Sĩ-Nhiếp envoya une supplique à l'Empereur, demandant que ses frères fussent nommés préfets de Hiệp-Phố 合浦; de Cửu-Chơn 九眞 et de Nam-Hải 南海; à cette condition il promettait de rétablir l'ordre. Il y réussit et sa puissance fut grande. Quand il sortait, il était accompagné de musiciens, des parfums répandaient à ses côtés une fumée odorante, ses chevaux et ses chars couvraient les routes; le pays était prospère, les tributs barbares restaient soumises; "Tchao-T'o" dit un historien, "n'avait jamais été plus grand."

* Cf. *Abrégé*, trad. Sainson., p. 322. Kia-S'ong était originaire de Lieou-Tch'eng, dans la province actuelle de Kouang-Si.

† Ibid. p. 324; dans un autre passage, Lê-Tắc 黎崱 dit qu'il avait pu s'enfuir (p. 368); d'après le *Cang-Muc*, il aurait été tué dans la révolte.

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Sĩ-Nhiếp était appelé par le peuple d'Annam du nom de roi, mais c'était une marque de respect et non point un titre de souveraineté; jamais d'ailleurs, il ne songea à se rendre indépendant. Bien que la Chine fût à cette époque en proie à l'anarchie, il ne négligea point de remplir le devoir de tribut et lorsqu'un prétendant à l'Empire désigna les gouverneurs pour le Giao-Chỉ, il ne cessa point pour cela de se montrer fidèle à l'Empereur légitime. Il reçut, en récompense, le titre de général en chef pacificateur du Midi. Quand la Chine fut divisée en trois royaumes, il envoya son fils au roi de Wou 吳 qui régnait à Nan-King 南京 pour lui apporter en tribut des perles, du corail, de l'ambre et des parfums, des éléphants et des fruits rares. Il fut comblé de titres et de marques d'honneur. Pendant quarante ans, il resta à la tête de son gouvernement.

On lui a souvent attribué l'honneur d'avoir introduit en Annam les caractères chinois, mais à vrai dire, il n'est pas possible de rien affirmer à ce sujet. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il avait recueilli autour de lui des lettrés éminents qui fuyaient la Chine et que l'influence bienfaisante de la civilisation chinoise ne s'est jamais mieux exercée que sous son administration. "Le Giao-Chỉ," a dit Ngô-Sĩ-Liên 吳士連, "était alors un petit royaume de lettrés et d'hommes intelligents. Sĩ-Nhiếp avait fait connaître aux Annamites le livre des vers et les quatre livres. Toutes les traditions littéraires de l'Annam se rattachent à ce gouverneur bienfaisant."

Quand il mourut, en l'an 226 *, le roi de Wou établit le centre de l'administration à Hiệp-Phố. Il nomma Liu-Tai 呂代 (An. Lữ-Đại) gouverneur. Mais l'un des fils de Si-Nhiếp, nommé Sĩ-Vĩ 士䵋, envoya des soldats pour s'opposer à son passage, et, de sa propre autorité, s'empara du pouvoir; Liu-Tai prit la voie de mer avec son armée, et, une fois arrivé dans le Giao-Chỉ, il promit à Sĩ-Vĩ la vie sauve s'il se rendait.

* D'après une tradition recueillie par les auteurs annamites, son tombeau fut ouvert six cents ans après sa mort et son corps trouvé intact. On lui éleva un temple et il fut honoré comme un génie, hien 僊.

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Alors Sĩ-Vĩ, effrayé, vint avec ses cinq frères au camp de Liu-Tai, le corps nu en signe de soumission. Liu-Tai les fit tous décapiter et envoya leurs têtes à Nan-King.

A propos de ce manquement à la foi jurée, Ngô-Sĩ-Liên fait cette réflexion: "Les hommes sages peuvent voir par là que le roi de Wou était incapable d'étendre sa domination et que la puissance de Liu-Tai devait être éphémère."

Cependant Liu-Tai compte parmi les bons gouverneurs du Giao-Chỉ. Il était intègre et donnait toute son application aux affaires. "Il n'est pas un de ses actes qui ne puisse être examiné au grand jour," disent les historiens. Pendant qu'il gouvernait, il ne voulut rien distraire des revenus du pays pour soutenir sa famille, restée en Chine. L'Empereur apprit qu'elle était dans le dénuement et la secourut.

T'ao-Houang 陶璜 avait été préfet de Ts'ang-Wou; en 272 il fut envoyé par les Wou pour réconquérir le Giao-Châu, que Yang-Tsi 楊肇, (An. Dương-Tâo) avait soumis à la loi des Tsin. Il y réussit, non sans peine, et fut nommé gouverneur. Il sut par sa générosité et sa douceur, gagner le cœur du peuple; il pacifia le pays sans employer la rigueur et maintint dans l'obéissance les tribus barbares. Lorsqu'il fut rappelé, les lettrés supplièrent l'Empereur de le maintenir dans sa charge; ce qui fut accordé. Au moment où Tseu-Ma-Yen 司馬炎 rétablit l'unité de l'Empire en détruisant Wou 吳, (280), il se soumit à la nouvelle dynastie et envoya ses sceaux à la capitale en signe de démission. L'Empereur des Tsin 晉 le rétablit et lui attribua des titres d'honneur; après sa mort ses descendants lui succédèrent jusqu'en 323.

Sous les T'ang 唐 un descendant de Ma-Yuan, nommé Ma-Song 馬宋 (An. Mã-Tống), fut protecteur général de l'Annam; il ne mentit pas à son illustre origine. Sous son administration intègre et paternelle, le pays jouit du calme et du bien-être. Il répandit l'instruction parmi les Annamites et ainsi "polit et perfectionna leurs mœurs"; la civilisation chinoise pénétra jusque dans les districts occupés par des aborigènes.

Un autre fonctionnaire du nom Ma-Tche 馬直 (An. Mã-Chực), fut désigné pour gouverner l'Annam dans le cours du VIII[e] siècle; il a laissé le souvenir d'un lettré éminent,

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d'un administrateur honnête et désintéressé. Sous sa direction le peuple connut des jours de bonheur et de tranquillité.

On trouvera plus loin les récits des campagnes de Kao-P'ien 高駢 (An. Cao-Biền) contre les Thai du Nam-Tchao 南詔; lorsqu'il en eut délivré le pays, l'Empereur le nomma gouverneur (865). Il s'occupa de rendre à l'Annam ravagé l'ordre et la paix dont il avait tant besoin; il se montra ferme et équitable. Les habitants qui le craignaient et le respectaient lui donnaient le titre de roi.

L'histoire ne cite guère d'autres noms remarquables par leur bonne administration et il faut convenir que la liste est bien courte.

4.—LES RÉVOLTES

Pendant la période qui s'étend depuis la défaite de Kiến-Đức 建德 et de Lữ-Gia 呂嘉 (111 av. J.C.) jusqu'à la libération définitive de l'Annam (939 ap. J.C.), la domination chinoise ne fut vraiment interrompue que soixante années environ, tant que régna la dynastie fondée par Lí-Bôn 李賁 (544-692); mais les séditions furent fréquentes dans le pays de Giao.

Elles ont été de deux sortes. Parfois, aux époques troublées de l'histoire de Chine, alors que le pouvoir central était incapable d'exercer un contrôle sévère sur le gouvernement des pays soumis, un fonctionnaire, chinois ou annamite, sut tirer parti des circonstances pour se créer une sorte de fief indépendant et héréditaire dans la contrée dont l'administration lui avait été confiée.* Cependant, l'ordre étant rétabli en Chine, l'Empereur jetait les yeux sur le factieux, ou son successeur: quelquefois il voulait bien recevoir sa soumission et le confirmer dans les fonctions qu'il exerçait; il lui arrivait aussi d'envoyer un nouveau gouverneur appuyé d'une armée qui lui permettait d'imposer son autorité par la force.

Mais ces actes d'indépendance n'étaient provoqués que par l'ambition d'un petit nombre; il s'en produisit d'autres,

* Le cas se présenta à plusieurs reprises au cours des IIIe, IVe et Ve siècles et ne fut pas spécial à l'Annam ; dans d'autres gouvernements aussi, il arriva que les fils succédèrent à leurs pères.

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véritables soulèvements populaires, qui méritent de fixer davantage notre attention.

Quand des impôts trop lourds, des corvées trop pénibles, des exactions des toute nature accablent les habitants, des désirs de vengeance, des pensées de haine fermentent et s'il se trouve alors un homme capable de grouper toutes les forces de séditions et de donner aux mécontents le courage d'agir, une troupe se forme qui entre en campagne, ravage la contrée, s'empare de quelques villages, d'une ville, massacrent quelques fonctionnaires, leurs amis, leurs serviteurs et leurs soldats, brûlent leurs maisons, et finit par succomber sous l'effort des troupes impériales. Mais quelques-uns des révoltés réussirent toujours à échapper, se retirent dans les montagnes où ils ne peuvent être atteints; ils s'y tiennent prêts pour un autre mouvement, pour d'autres pillages.

Ce sont ces soulèvements que l'on a appelés, non sans exagération, tentatives de l'Annam pour reconquérir son indépendance.*

Lorsque les habitants du pays d'Annam s'insurgeaient, ils n'avaient d'autre désir que de secouer un joug devenu trop pesant; savaient-ils même tous que le fonctionnaire, gouverneur ou préfet, contre qui ils prenaient les armes, était le représentant de l'Empereur c'est peu probable. Mais l'histoire de ces révoltes est cependant intéressante: elles ont contribué à habituer les Annamites à des efforts d'ensemble, à leur créer des besoins collectifs, à leur donner la notion de ces besoins, et les ont ainsi acheminés peu à peu vers la conception d'une certaine communauté d'intérêts.

Au moment où la dynastie des Han postérieurs 後漢 après le règne d'un usurpateur et plusieurs années de luttes sanglantes, commençait à s'affermir sur le trône, un préfet du Giao-Chi nommé Sou Ting 蘇定 (an. Tô-Định) gouvernait avec

* Luro a même écrit (*le Pays d'Annam*, p. 16) que le "peuple d'Annam conserva le sentiment de sa nationalité au point de reconquérir son indépendance." C'est là un singulier abus de langage qu'on s'étonne de trouver dans l'un des meilleurs livres écrits sur l'Annam. Les vœux des Annamites ne tendaient guère à cette époque qu'à servir des maîtres humains et justes; chez eux, comme chez tout autre peuple, le sentiment national a mis longtemps à naître et même confusément; ils étaient loin de le concevoir au temps de la domination chinoise.

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une rigueur et une cruauté extrême. Le peuple était exaspéré de sa tyrannie et il suffit d'un dernier crime pour le soulever.

Au printemps de l'année 39, Tô-Dinh fit tuer un fonctionnaire nommé Thi-Sách 詩索. La femme de la victime, nommée Trưng-Trắc 徵側, était fille d'un chef de district de Mé-Linh 麊泠; aidée de sa sœur cadette Trưng-Nhị 徵貳, et d'une troupe de partisans résolus, elle se rendit à la capitale pour attaquer le préfet. Celui-ci, abandonné de ses soldats et honni de toute la population, réussit à s'enfuir à Nan-Hai. Les deux vaillantes sœurs dont la troupe était devenue une armée, pénétrèrent dans les commanderies voisines sans coup férir; partout elles étaient reçues comme des libératrices; soixante-cinq villes, disent les récits annamites, furent bientôt en leur pouvoir. Le gouverneur et les préfets purent à grand'peine sauver leur vie. Trưng-Trắc prit le titre de Reine et établit sa capitale à Mé-Linh.

Alors l'Empereur Kouang Wou 光武 envoya des troupes sous le commandement du célèbre Ma Yuan 馬援 (an. Mã-Viện) qui s'était illustré quelques années auparavant par une campagne contre les Tibétains. Ma Yuan prépara soigneusement la campagne; il fit construire des ponts, tracer des routes pour assurer des approvisionnements de son armée et s'avança en suivant le rivage de la mer. Aux environs de la capitale, il se heurta aux soldats de Trưng-Trắc; ceux-ci, mal disciplinés, ne purent soutenir le choc des Chinois aguerris. La reine dut reculer et se retrancha dans la vallée de Câm-Khé 金溪 (sans doute dans la province actuelle de Sơn-Tây 山西) Dans une nouvelle rencontre, au printemps de l'année suivante son armée l'abandonna. Elle n'eut d'autre ressource que la mort: elle se noya ainsi que sa sœur. Pour perpétuer la vaillance de ces sœurs héroïques, un temple leur fut élevé.*

* Voir Dumoutier (*Chùa Hai Bà, le temple des deux sœurs et les pagodes de Hanoi*, p. 35 et suiv.) qui a rassemblé d'intéressants détails sur cette histoire. Consulter aussi les traducteurs de documents chinois ou annamites: A. Des Michels (*op. citat.*, p. 57 et suiv.), Sainson (*op. citat.*, p. 205), de Mailla (*Histoire Générale de la Chine*, II, p. 510: III, p. 13: XII, *Notice historique de la Cochinchine*, par le P. Gaubil), etc. Les auteurs ne sont pas d'accord sur la fin des héroïnes: d'après certains, elles furent toutes deux tuees dans le combat.

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Ma Yuan compléta sa victoire : bientôt tout le pays retomba sous la domination des Han. Avant de rentrer en Chine, le Général éleva à la frontière une colonne de bronze portant cette inscription : "Si cette colonne est renversée, la race de Giao-Chi sera détruite." *

Les succès de Ma Yuan lui valurent le titre de Fou P'o (c'est-à-dire "qui dompte les flots") et sa fille fut donnée en mariage à l'héritier présomptif. †

Pendant la fin de la période des trois royaumes, le règne de la dynastie Tsin (265-489) et la première partie de cette période de morcellement où l'Empire fut gouverné à la fois par des Souverains du Nord et des Souverains du Sud, le Giao-Châu continua à subir le sort des pays soumis : il prospérait sous la direction de gouverneurs bienveillants et justes, il souffrait et parfois se rébellait sous la domination d'administrateurs avides et cruels.

Il paya le tribut aux dynasties qui régnèrent successivement dans le Sud : aux Song 宋, aux Ts'i méridionaux 南 齊, puis aux Leang 梁, mais le passage d'un souverain à un autre ne se faisait pas sans à-coups. Il a été question, à propos de T'ao-Hoang 陶 璜, des luttes qui eurent lieu entre partisans des Wou et des Tsin. En 468, Annamite, Lí-Trường-Nhơn 李長仁, prend de sa propre autorité le titre de gouverneur ; il s'oppose de vive force à l'arrivée du gouverneur envoyé par

* On ne sait pas quel fut l'emplacement de cette colonne, au nord du Champa suivant les uns, au sud du Kouang-Tong suivant les autres. Une légende raconte que les gens qui passaient près de cette colonne avaient l'habitude d'y déposer des pierres, des pots cassés ou d'autres débris pour la consolider. Aussi cette colonne ne tarda-t-elle pas à disparaître sous l'accumulation des matériaux dont on l'avait entourée. V. Devéria, *Frontière sino-annamite*, p. 2.

† Quand il revint de sa campagne, la frontière du nord était désolée par les Huns. Malgré son grand âge et ses infirmités, il sollicita la permission de commander les troupes qui étaient envoyées contre eux. Pour montrer que sa vigueur ne l'avait pas abandonné, il se dressa tout droit sur sa selle en présence de l'Empereur en disant : Il est plus convenable pour un général d'être ramené chez lui, son cadavre enveloppé dans une couverture de cheval, que de mourir dans son lit entouré de ses garçons et de ses filles." Et le souverain, plein d'admiration, dit : "Ah ! que ce vieillard est vif et robuste !" Il mourut en l'an 49 au cours d'une campagne contre les tribus barbares du Ho-Nan. Cf. Mayers, *op. citat.*, No. 478.

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les Song; en 479, il meurt et son frère Li-Thúc-Hiến 李叔賢, qu'il avait nommé préfet, prétend au titre de gouverneur et refuse de reconnaître l'autorité du préfet de Nan-Hai désigné par l'Empereur pour administrer le pays. Le peuple le suit; pendant ce temps, les Ts'i ont remplacé les Song et le nouvel Empereur accorde à Li le titre qu'il ambitionne. Plus tard, un autre gouverneur nommé par les Ts'i, Lí-Khái 李凱, ne veut pas se soumettre aux Leang et tente de se rendre indépendant. Il est assassiné par un de ses officiers, nommé Lí-Tắc 李賁, qui reçoit de la Chine la charge de gouverneur (595), mais ses partisans tiennent la campagne et ne sont soumis qu'en 516 par Lí-Tắc 李賁.

Vers 530, un membre de la famille impériale, nommé Siao-Tseu 蕭諮 (An. Tiêu-Tư), gouvernait le Giao-Châu;* il compte parmi les plus mauvais fonctionnaires que la Chine ait envoyés dans le pays; son gouvernement tyrannique excita tant de haines, sa cruaute le rendit tellement odieux que le peuple, dirigé par Li-Bôn, se souleva en 541.

Les aïeux de Lí-Bôn 李賁 étaient chinois. A la fin des Han postérieurs (vers l'an 25), ils étaient venus s'établir dans le midi, et la famille étant depuis cette époque fixée dans la préfecture de Thái-Bình 太平, Lí-Bôn peut être considéré comme un Annamite. Il était versé dans la littérature et n'ignorait pas l'art de la guerre. Il forma une armée de tous les mécontents et laissa le Gouverneur s'enfuir à Canton, tandis qu'il s'installait lui-même dans la capitale. L'Empereur envoya une armée mais, mal commandée, elle se débanda avant d'atteindre l'ennemi.

En 544, Lí-Bôn se proclama Empereur du Nam-Việt 南越 et donna à son royaume le nom de Vạn-Xuân 萬春. L'année suivante au printemps une armée chinoise envahit l'Annam, sous le commandement de Yang-P'ao 楊𩉈 (An. Dương-Phiêu) et de Tch'en-Pa-Sien 陳霸先 (An. Trần-Bá-Tiên)†. Celui-ci, envoyé en avant garde, battit une première

* Dans *l'Abrégé d'Histoire d'Annam*, et par suite dans la traduction Sainson, il est nommé Heou-Tseu avec l'appellation de Che-T'ai, mais une note de l'érudit Ts'ien-Ta-Hin (qui vivait au XVIII^e^ siècle) indique que l'histoire des Leang l'appelle Siao-Tseu.

† Qui fonda plus tard en Chine la dynastie Tch'en (557-587)

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fois Lí-Bôn qui se retira alors jusqu'auprès de la bouche du Sông-T'ô-Lịch 蘇歷 c'est-à-dire à l'endroit où cette rivière sort du fleuve Rouge et où est aujourd'hui Hanoi 河內. Il y éleva une escalade en bois derrière laquelle il se retrancha. Défait de nouveau, il battit en retraite jusqu'aux environs de la ville de Bach-Hac 白鶴; chassé de là par Yang-P'iao au début de 546, il se retira chez les barbares Lao, qui le massacrèrent en 547 ou 548. Ils envoyèrent sa tête aux généraux chinois.*

L'un de ses officiers, Triệu-Quang-Phục, se proclama le roi; il tint l'armée impériale en respect et lui fit même en plusieurs escarmouches éprouver des pertes sensibles; il s'était réfugié dans la région de Hải-Dương 海陽, sur la limite de la province de Quảng-Yên 廣安, et les chinois n'osaient pas l'y poursuivre†.

Les réçits annamites montrent Quang-Phuc régnant dans la ville capitale de Lông-Biên 龍編; cependant le frère aîné de Lí-Bôn, Lí-Thiên-Bảo 李天寶, avait, lui aussi, pris le titre de roi‡. Il lutta avec acharnement contre les chinois, mais vaincu par Ch'en-Pa-Sien, il se retira dans les montagnes;

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* H. Maspero. *Le Protectorat général de l'Annam*, p 581-582. La date de 547 pour la mort de Lí-Bôn est donnée par l'histoire de la dynastie Tch'en 陳. Les ouvrages annamites donnent 548, 3e mois. V. notices de Lê-Tắc sur Yang-P'iao et Tch'en-Pa-Sien, trad. Sainson, p. 351-352.

† Si l'histoire de Triệu-Quang-Phục (dont les historiens chinois ne parlent pas) n'est pas complètement légendaire, il ne s'en faut guère et il est fort difficile d'y discerner ce qui est historique de ce qui ne l'est pas., ibid, p. 584.

‡ A vrai-dire, les auteurs annamites, ne sont pas d'accord sur le commencement et la fin du règne; Lí-Bôn avait pris le titre de période Thiên-Đức et certains ouvrages comptent quatre années au lieu de cinq à la période. Triệu paraît avoir pris le titre de roi, soit aussitôt après la mort de Lí-Bôn, soit en 549 seulement: le *Cang Muc* et le *Toàn-Thơ* comptent les années de règne en se fondant sur Quang-Phuc, bien qu'il n'y ait pas en de période. Les *Sử-Kí* seulement, tout en mentionnant Quang-Phuc, établissent leur chronologie sur les successeurs (de la famille) de Lí Bôn; cette position paraît la plus logique. En vérité, ces contradictions s'expliqueraient facilement par le fait de la non-existence de Triệu-Quang-Phục, si l'on suit l'opinion fortement étayée d'ailleurs de M. H. Maspero. *Etude sur l'Histoire d'Annam*, II, in Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, 1916, No. I.

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il mourut en 555 sans laisser d'enfant et ses partisans choisirent pour lui succéder un membre de la famille de Lí-Bôn 李賁, nommé Li-Phật-Tử * 李佛子. Quang-Phuc régna d'abord seul; en 558, il fut attaqué par Li-Phật Tử. Après plusieurs combats sans résultat décisif, ils résolurent de se partager le royaume; ils vécurent en bonne intelligence jusqu'en l'année 571. A cette époque Li-Phật-Tử leva des troupes, et, à l'improviste, attaqua Triệu-Quang-Phục qui fut tué dans le combat.

Lí se proclama Empereur et régna 32 ans. En 692 les Souei 隋 envoyèrent contre lui le Général Lieou-Fang 劉方 (An. Luu-Phương) qui tailla en pièces les troupes annamites. Le roi se soumit et fut envoyé en Chine. Le pays retomba sous la domination chinoise pour une période de 336 ans.

Des récits annamites répètent, au sujet de la défaite de Triệu-Quang-Phục par Lí-Phật-Tử, des détails rencontrés déjà dans l'histoire des luttes de Triệu-Đà avec An-Dương: il y est question d'une griffe de dragon qui permettait à Triệu de vaincre ses ennemis et qui lui fut dérobée par son gendre Nhã-Lang 雅郎, fils de Lí, comme la griffe de la tortue fut prise à An-Dương par le fils de Triệu-Đà †. Une annotation du *Miroir Historique* trouve qu'il y a dans ce récit une trop grande part d'invention: il serait plus opportun de faire remarquer que la légende de Triệu-Đà se trouve reproduite avec quelques variantes à propos de Triệu-Quang-Phục et c'est une raison de plus de douter de l'existence de ce personnage.

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* Fidèle à leur méthode, le *Cang-Mục* et le *Toàn-Thư* comptent le règne de Lí-Phật-Tử à partir de la mort de Quang-Phuc (571) et les *Sử-Kí* à partir de la mort de Lí-Thiên-Bảo (555); c'est, semble-t-il, cette dernière date qu'il faut adopter: en premier lieu, Quang-Phuc est un usurpateur et, s'il a régné, un souverain régulier a régné en même temps que lui: en second lieu il paraît bien que son règne appartienne à la légende, ce qui serait une raison péremptoire de ne pas l'admettre dans la succession des souverains annamites. Cf. Cadière (*Tableau chronologique*, p. 5-6.) qui suit la manière de voir du *Cang-Mục*. Lí-Phật-Tử aurait été roi de 555 à 571 et empereur de 571 à 602.

† Le village de Hà-Mô, sur le bord du fleuve Rouge, près de Hanoi, contient un temple dédié à Nhã-Lang.

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La dynastie Souei ne régna pas longtemps: au bout de quelques vingt-cinq ans, elle fut remplacée par la dynastie T'ang 唐 qui garda le pouvoir près de trois siècles (618-907) et compte parmi les plus puissantes qui aient gouverné la Chine.

Il a été remarqué qu'aux époques où le pouvoir est en des mains fermes, où son contrôle s'étend jusqu'aux provinces les plus lointaines, l'ordre règne partout; s'il est quelquefois troublé, c'est toujours pour une courte période. Ainsi que sous les T'ang le Giao-Chau, poussé à bout, se soulève ou que des voisins turbulents viennent le ravager, la répression ne tarde jamais et le pays retrouve bientôt la paix sous un gouvernement fort. Il faut du reste remarquer que jamais les fonctionnaires chargés d'administrer le pays ne furent en général mieux choisis ni mieux surveillés; certains, convaincus de concussion, furent impitoyablement châtiés et, s'il s'en trouva qui voulurent empiéter sur les droits souverains du maître suprême, ils n'attendirent pas longtemps leur punition.

Mais les incursions des étrangers ne laissèrent pas de créer de sérieuses difficultés, et c'est ce qui explique sans doute que l'Annam ne jouit pas des avantages que la domination d'une dynastie puissante aurait pu lui procurer; à différentes reprises les souverains du Champa vinrent piller le territoire annamite, les Nan-tchao se rendirent maîtres d'une notable portion du pays, les pirates malais firent des descentes sur les côtes et ravagèrent plusieurs districts, les barbares de l'Ouest dévastèrent les frontières. C'est que les forces dont disposaient les gouverneurs ne suffirent pas toujours à chasser les envahisseurs et que la Chine dut envoyer des armées commandées par d'habiles généraux; mais en définitive, malgré les obstacles à vaincre, force resta toujours à l'autorité impériale.

Vers la fin du IX^{e} siècle et les premières années du X^{e}, les conditions changent: la Chine est en proie aux désordres et aux compétitions. En 907 la dynastie des T'ang succombe, et c'est alors une période de divisions qui dure plus de soixante ans, pendant laquelle l'Empire est déchiré entre plusieurs familles. Son pouvoir sur le pays d'Annam n'est guère plus que nominal et, dans la province soumise, des chefs ambitieux se disputent la prépondérance.

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La dynastie des Leang postérieurs 後 梁 (907-923), l'une des cinq petites dynasties, avait reconnu comme gouverneur du Giao-Chau le chef Annamite Khúc-Thừa-Dụ 曲 承 裕, qui en remplissait la charge depuis plusieurs années; lorqu'il mourut, il fut remplacé par son fils Khúc-Hao 曲 顥. Celui-ci fit une nouvelle division du Giao, délimita les circonscriptions, nomma des fonctionnaires; il ordonna la révision des registres d'impôts, fit dresser des rôles et accorda au peuple des réductions de taxes. Le Giao-Chau était à ce moment séparé du tcheou de Kouang 廣, qu'administrait un fonctionnaire nommé Lieou Yin 劉 隱 (an. Luru Ân). Bien que Khuc-Hao fût, en réalité, maître du pouvoir en pays d'Annam, il n'avait pas été reconnu par l'Empereur, qui désigna Lieou Yin pour joindre à son gouvernement celui du Giao et l'investit du titre de "roi pacifique du Midi." Khuc-Hao refusa de se soumettre à l'autorité de Lieou Yin et continua à diriger pour son propre compte le territoire annamite. Cependant, désireux d'entretenir avec son voisin de bons rapports d'amitié, il lui envoya en ambassade son fils Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ 曲 承 美. Sur ces entrefaites, Lieou Yin mourut: son frère cadet, Lieou Yen 劉 巖 (an. Luru-Nham) lui succéda et fut confirmé dans la dignité de gouverneur; mais elle ne lui suffit pas, et comme l'Empereur lui refusait celles qu'il demandait, il se déclara indépendant et se proclama empereur des Viêt du Sud (rétablissant ainsi le nom de Nam Viêt choisi par Tchao-T'o); plus tard il prit le nom dynastique de Han et fonda ainsi la dynastie des Han du Sud 南 漢.

Il avait espéré qu'à la mort de Khúc-Hao, il pourrait réunir le Giao à son patrimoine; mais, à ce moment, (985) Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ envoya le tribut à l'Empereur des Leang et lui demanda de succéder à son père, faveur qui lui fut accordée. Lieou Yen, furieux de sa déconvenue, envoya une armée dans le sud sous le commandement de Leang K'o-Tcheng (an. Lương-Khắc-Chanh); Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ fut battu et pris.

Lieou Yen le fit tuer, désigna un gouverneur, Li Tsin 李 秦 (an. Li-Tấn), et laissa dans le pays Leang K'o-Tcheng pour garder la capitale avec un général de Khúc-Thừa-Mĩ, qui avait fait semblant de se soumettre. Celui-ci, nommé Dương-Diên-Nghệ, rassembla des partisans en secret, puis se

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sentant assez fort, attaqua Leang K'o-Tcheng; il le défit complètement. Lieou Yen, apprenant ce désastre, en prit son parti: "Le peuple de Giao est turbulent, dit-il, contentons-nous d'exercer le pouvoir supérieur." Et il nomma Dương-Diên-Nghệ gouverneur du pays.

Le chef victorieux ne se contenta pas de ce titre; il voulait gouverner pour son compte. Il mit en déroute une armée envoyée par Lieou Yen et s'établit solidement dans la capitale (930). En 937, le commandant de ses gardes, Kiều-Công-Thiện, le tua et prit sa place. L'année suivante un autre officier de Dương-Diên-Nghệ, nommé Ngô-Quyền 吳權, se leva contre Kiều et entraina dans sa révolte un grand nombre de soldats. Kiều envoya des présents à Lieou Yen et lui demanda de le secourir; le souverain de Canton qui voyait dans cette intervention une nouvelle occasion de se rendre maître du pays se hâta d'envoyer une puissante flotte; il la plaça sous les ordres de son fils Hong Ts'ao (an. Hoằn-Thao) qu'il prit la précaution d'investir à l'avance du titre de roi de Giao. Mais les secours n'étaient pas arrivés que Ngô-Quyền avait déjà vaincu et tué Kiều; il se porta à la rencontre de l'ennemi et lui infligea une cruelle défaite au Cửa-Nam-Triệu; l éphémère roi de Giao se noya (939).

"Ngô-Quyền, dit l'historien Ngô-Thì-Sĩ 吳時士, avait tué le rebelle du dedans pour venger son maître; il détruisit l'ennemi du dehors pour conjurer les dangers qui menaçaient son pays."

C'est la fin de la domination chinoise. Même à l'époque où la Chine aura retrouvé son unité sous le Général Tchao Kouang Yin 趙匡胤, fondateur de la dynastie Song 宋 et lorsque cette grande dynastie gouvernera brillamment l'Empire pacifié, l'Annam restera libre.

(FIN.)

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THE FIRST LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY

REV. G. G. WARREN

CHINESE history contains the account of the earliest attempt ever made to end wars by a league of nations. In B.C. 546, the representatives of fourteen nations met at the capital of the state of Sung, which is connected with the present Kueitehfu, Honan, in order to contract a binding treaty to 'stop the wars of the barons'. Between the Peace Conference of Sung and its successor 2465 years later at Versailles there is little enough analogy. Nevertheless present-day events give an added interest to a tale that has been well told and has always been worth repeating if only for the laughter which is the sole reward we can give to a set of actors whose acting was superb. The account of the conference is to be found in the great Tso Commentary on the Chinese Classic, the *Ch'un Ch'iu*, or Spring and Autumn Annals. Those who desire to read the Chinese text will find it under the 27th year of "Duke" Hsiang. It is given in full in Legge's *Chinese Classics*, Vol. V. Pt. ii., pp. 528ff. with an English translation. French translations of most of the Chinese will be found in Père Havret's *Histoire de Tsin* pp. 288ff., or in his *Histoire de Tch'ou* pp. 170ff. To these the reader who needs exactitude is referred. A freer use of the material is made in the present article, though occasional translations of Tso's phraseology are enclosed within single commas. Wherever a speech

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is enclosed in double commas, it may be taken that a justifiable basis for the paraphrase can be found in the original. A very able discussion of the Commentary and especially of its trustworthiness in regard to historical accuracy will be found in two articles in the *Chinese Recorder* for April and May, 1911, by A. M. This particular section of the Commentary comes into A. M.'s discussion because of the most interesting statement 仲尼使畢是禮也以爲多文辭 which A. M. agrees with Dr. Legge in translating with the help of an inserted pronoun: "Chung-ni made (me) insert this ceremony because of the many speeeches for which it afforded the opportunity."

A preliminary paragraph on the China of B.C. 546 will help the reader to a more just appreciation of the need of a league of nations, and of what did as well as what did not come out of the gathering which was a historical fact.

For the 176 years preceding the Conference, *i.e.* for the period beginning with B.C. 722, China has handed us on a record of her history that is without parallel amongst her contemporaries of those centuries. Neither Rome nor Greece, neither Egypt nor Judæa, neither Persia nor India can be known as China is known in the VIth and VIIth centuries B.C. For some centuries previous to the earlier date the Chou dynasty had been in existence—exactly how long it is not possible to even guess. The orthodox date of its beginning, B.C. 1122, is even less probable than that of B.C. 1050 which is found in a rival system of chronology—neither system occurring in any works that were written within a thousand years of either date. By B.C. 546, the monarchs of the Chou dynasty were the merest *rois fainéants*. In connection with this Peace Conference, for instance, the king is not so much as mentioned. We have no reason to think that he had any intimation of the Conference before it was held or any report of it after. At the very start of the dynasty, a feudal system of hereditary, territorial barons had been established on lines which are distinctly traceable back into the shadowy days of the still earlier dynasty. As in every other country where such a system has existed, some of the barons rose to greater power than others and internal strife led to the extension of

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one lord's lands at the expense of his neighbours. In the first half of the seventh century, the ruler of the state of Ch'i, the modern north Shantung, by the help of an exceedingly able minister, Kuan Chung, raised his state to a position of something even more than that of *primus inter pares*. But the successive deaths of the minister and the ruler, found no one able to supply the place of either, and the state at once lost its primacy. From B.C. 636 to 628, the territory of Chin, the modern Shansi, was ruled by the ablest and most attractive baron of the whole dynasty. His posthumous title is Duke Wên. He not only gained a primacy over many (though by no means all) of the states, he managed to hand it on for some generations. By the middle of the sixth century, however, a second primacy, over states which had either not recognized, or had renounced the hegemony of Chin, had been gained by Ch'u, a state which had crept up from the northern banks of the Yangtzŭ until it had absorbed the present Hupeh and had overflowed into lands now included in Honan and Anhui. Chin's neighbour on the west, Ch'in, the modern Shensi, had never acknowledged the primacy of Chin. The two states had fought many a battle, generally, but by no means always to the advantage of Chin. The fallen state of Ch'i also, only now and again gave any acknowledgment of itself as inferior to Chin. These four, Chin 晉 and Ch'u 楚, Ch'in 秦 and Ch'i 齊 were the Big Four of those days of long ago. Ch'in and Ch'i were somewhat isolated. Between Chin and Ch'u there lay a border belt of states in which life can hardly have been worth living. The story of the way in which these states were made mere shuttlecocks to be knocked about between the battledores of Chin and Ch'u would be scarcely credible except that the Annals have been actually preserved to us. The forces of Chin would be here today to investigate the treasonable commerce with Ch'u a few months earlier. A suitable fine would be imposed together with oaths of fidelity, and away the soldiers of Chin would go, and then would come those of Ch'u who repeated the action on reversed reasoning. Year succeeded year with hardly any interval between these dreaded visits. Rarely was there a year without some ravage of war.

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The state of Sung, whence came the suggestion of the Conference, offers in this stage of its history a typical example of what was happening. In its early history, Sung was distinguished. Its dukes were descended from the rulers of the previous dynasty. The founder of that dynasty, T'ang, is almost the first tangible personality we meet with in those days of legendary lore, for the earlier Yao and Shun are more like the personified virtues of the Faerie Queen than men of flesh and blood. And if as would seem probable, there were some early engineer named Yü, he must have been a mere miniature of the god-like hero of the Classics whose deeds scorn the limitations of ordinary humanity. T'ang may be likened to Melchizedek, for his most kingly deed was a priestly offering of himself to Heaven as an appeasing sacrifice against the wrath manifest in a prolonged drought; but the story of that great offering is the story of a man. It was T'ang who overthrew the first Nero of Chinese story; it was his descendant who became Nero Secundus. Indeed the variation between the two Neros is too slight to be acceptable to those who reject the dictum that history repeats herself. It was from the fallen descendants of T'ang that one was selected to maintain the sacrifices to him and his successors, and to enable them to do so with becoming dignity the descendant was enfeoffed as the duke of Sung. From a younger branch of this Sung family, an actual descendant of the first dukes, and therefore of T'ang himself, five years before the Peace Conference, *i.e.* in B.C. 551, Confucius was born.

The record of the doings of Sung for the 26 years of Duke Hsiang's rule will show how dire was the need to put a stop to the wars of the barons. In five of the years there is no mention of Sung. For the other twenty-two years there are thirty-five references. Twenty-three of these are connected with attendances at councils called by the premier prince of Chin; eighteen times the duke attended in person; on the other five he was represented by one of his officers. Note that all these councils were councils of war; nearly every one was followed by a military expedition in which some of the troops of Sung would take part. In addition to these, special

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mention is made of three expeditions in which Sung was also engaged with other troops, and there are four expeditions made into Sung by Ch'u or some of her subordinates. Twice we hear of fugitive members of the ducal family escaping to Lu after civil strife. Only two paragraphs out of the thirty-five are concerned with friendly matters—a state visit was paid and returned between Sung and Lu. The last of the thirty-five paragraphs tells us how the duke killed his heir-son. (Garrulous Tso has a long story about this. The head of the eunuchs having been offended by this son, trumped up a charge against him, by forging in his name certain plots against the father. After the son was executed, the father discovered that he had been deceived. He boiled the miserable eunuch.)

This section of Sung's history might be paralleled by almost any one of the fourteen states taking part in the Peace Conference. It was of this Classic, which tells us all these things that Mencius made the very true remark: "The *Ch'un Ch'iu* tells of no righteous wars." Yet out of 35 paragraphs which we have analysed, 33 are taken up with wars or civil strife of some sort. Is there any wonder that out of such a hurly-burly there should go up a cry—Deliver us from the wars of the barons?

The originator of the scheme which was to deliver the oppressed was a somewhat second-rate personage named Hsiang Hsü, of Sung. (It was he, by the way, who represented Sung on that state visit to Lu to which we have referred.) For all the details which follow, we are indebted to garrulous Tso.

Hsiang Hsü was known to the two leading premiers, Chao Wên-tzŭ of Chin and Tzŭ-mu of Ch'u. Hence, wishing 'to stop the wars of the barons and also to make a name for himself' (!) he started off to Chin and laid his plan before Chao Wên-tzŭ. Chao consulted his colleagues. Tso quotes one of these as giving the following advice: "War is a calamity for the people; a blight on all economical administration and a great disaster for small states. Now when a man comes with a plan for stopping war, even though we may think it can't be done, we ought to let him try.

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Besides, suppose you do not take the matter up, well then, Ch'u will. She will straightway call the barons together, and thereby our position amongst the lords as primus is gone." We know not from Tso whether any other advice was tendered or not. The cabinet was carried and a promise of convoking the states was given. Well may Pacifist Hsü have begun to think of his 'name' and figure out a suitable reward; his scheme was henceforth a "live question;" it was "practical politics." The successful diplomat hurries off from Chin in the north to Ch'u in the south and lays his plan before Tzŭ-mu. Alas! Tso fails us; he gives us no speeches; he merely tells us, 'Ch'u also agreed.' Perhaps his unwonted reticence was due to the fact that in the record of the previous year he had lavished on us most dainty bit of conversation between a fellow-traveller of Hsiang Hsü (the latter being present) and the Ch'u premier. The manner in which Tzŭ-mu was rumpled up and his feet set in the right road, as far as conversation could set them, may well have prompted him to agree with his adversary's friend quickly. Off once more, the doubly successful pacifist hurries to the third of the Great Four and so finds himself in the far north-east. Here in Ch'i we hear for the first time of 'difficulties,' though once more Tso fails to give details as to what the difficulties were. But this is the way they were overcome: One of the Ch'i statesmen said "Look here, Chin has agreed and Ch'u has agreed. We shall be in a nice position if we don't agree too. Everybody will say, '*You* are the men who won't stop the wars.' Get that once fixed in the minds of our people, and will you tell me wha will happen next?" Nobody seems to have answered the very pertinent question, and again we read of Ch'i that she 'agreed.'

Hsiang Hsü was not indefatigable. He had bustled from north to south, from south to far north-east. He baulked the journey from north-east to north-west. He merely sent a message to Ch'in, and "Ch'in also agreed," though apparently from the context its agreement was as to other people holding a conference, for this is the end of the matter as far as Ch'in is concerned.

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It was on the fifth month of the year, our March 16th (for Tso supplies us with days as well as month and Père Havret kindly interprets Tso's algebraical symbols into the dates of our western calendar),*—it was March 16th when the first guest of the conference arrived at the Sung Capital. He was the greatest as well as the first, Chao Wên-tsŭ, the premier of Chin. Two days later the representative of Chêng arrived. Chêng was the youngest of the states. It only dates back to some fifty years before the traditional founding of Rome, B.C. 805, so it was called "New Cheng." Its 'novelty' has not yet worn off; it appears in the current Post Office Directory as Sincheng Ho. (*anglicè*, "New Cheng, Honan"). It lies not far off Kaifeng the provincial capital.

On March 19th, the ruler of Sung made a feast for premier Chao. It was this particular feast that "Chung-ni made (me) tell about." Was Tso sulky at being "made to do" something, and did he therefore leave out all the speechifying to which he specially alludes as the reason for the insertion? Or, was it that Confucius did not tell him the speeches and so without "making" the dinner would not have been recorded?

For the ensuing day the arrivals are duly chronicled, but the details need not detain us. It was April 3rd when Tzŭ-mu, the rival premier, reached the bordering state of Ch'ên, whence he sent on a confidential colleague to get a first draft of what it was proposed he should take part in signing. Pacifist Hsiang Hsü was accordingly sent off to Ch'ên with a draft. Tzŭ-mu suggested an addition. "Chin's, Ch'u's subordinates shall mutually change visitation" is the laconic original which Dr. Legge does well to expand into 24 English, and Père Havret into 28 French words to make it clear to the western reader that it means that the states accustomed to present themselves at the court of Chin shall henceforth also present

* I have noticed, by the way, that the learned father gives different interpretations of the same day in some parts of his two histories of Chin and Ch'u; but the relation between the dates that follow is the same in English as in Chinese, so that, if one is a week or fortnight out, so are all the rest.

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themselves at the court of Ch'u, and vice versa. On April 11th, Hsiang Hsü got back with the amendment. Chao Wên-tzŭ was not altogether satisfied that the plan was workable. He argued: "Chin, Ch'u, Ch'i and Ch'in are equals. Chin cannot compel Ch'i, nor can Ch'u compel Ch'in. But if the prince of Ch'u can induce the prince of Ch'in to come to our humble court, our 'orphan'* prince would not presume not to do his best to induce Ch'i to visit Ch'u." On April 13th Hsiang starts back with this puzzle which proved too puzzling for the Ch'u premier to answer off-hand. He felt he must refer the matter to his prince, to whom he despatched a special messenger, and from whom he got the sensible command "Leave Ch'i and Ch'in out of the matter and arrange for cross visitation of all the rest."

On April 19th, Hsiang Hsü gets back together with a representative from the premier of Ch'u who, together with Chao Wên-tzŭ, signed the preliminary agreement as to the terms to be used in the covenant. Two days later, Tzŭ-mu arrived in person and was accompanied by the delegates from the states acknowledging the superiority of Ch'u. The whole body of delegates arranged themselves in a twofold camp with a palisading to separate Chin and her colleagues from Ch'u and hers. One of his colleagues said to Chao Wên-tzŭ "I do not like the spirit of these Ch'u fellows; it is bad. I fear there will be trouble." The premier replied "Happily we are next to the city gate. If they should attack us, we can make an easy escape inside the walls."

April 22nd was the great day of the actual signing. When the Ch'u delegates dressed themselves for the ceremony, they took care to wear their armour under their gala clothes. A refugee who had been living for some time at the court of Ch'u, and who had from time to time given excellent advice to the Ch'u officials, was horrified at this cold-blooded treachery. He expostulated most vigorously with Tzŭ-mu. "Amongst the barons, lack of trustworthiness is impossible. They are all trusting Ch'u. Even those who acknowledge your primacy will cease to do so if they realise that you are

* Used as a term of humility—meaning, as insignificant as an orphan.

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not to be trusted. I beg you to take off your armour." The reply was as brutally frank as have been the 'Hun' statements these recent years: "Between Ch'u and Chin there has been no trusting for long enough. We want what will pay. If we can get what we want, we'll do without trusting or being trusted." As soon as the mentor had gained the ear of a friend he said "Tzŭ-mu will die within three years . . . Will begets speech; speech gives birth to trust; trust establishes the will. These three fix things. Trust being ruined how can the three be attained to?" (The reader supplies either "virtues" or "years" to the laconic 'three'!)

Chao Wên-tzŭ was troubled over the armour-wearing—it might not be so easy to make for the city gate after all. He took council with his very wise friend Shu Hsiang, concerning whom there are many good tales told us by Tso. Shu Hsiang said "No harm can come to us from such a thing as this. Even a common peasant cannot get along without trusting and being trusted. The outcome is death. Nothing can be gained by lack of trust at a meeting of the barons. I have never been troubled at any notion that men can 'eat their words' and not suffer for doing so. We come together because we trust each other. One of us shows he is not fit to be trusted. Well, that hurts him; not me. If he should attack us we can fall back into the city. We shall have all the help that Sung can give us, and with that we shall be twice as strong as Ch'u. Even an attack will not turn out to our injury. But it will not come to an attack. To use such a meeting as this to attack us—that cannot turn out to our harm."

A pretty little by-play concerning Lu is here brought to our notice. The frugal marquis of Lu, knowing full well that "contributions" (in its old Plantagenet sense) requested by Chin were in proportion to the status of the contributor, bade the premier instruct his delegates to rank themselves with the two petty states of Chu and T'êng. But Ch'i claimed lordship over Chu, and Sung over T'êng; hence these two states were debarred from the privilege of signing the covenant. Lu's deputy was in a trait betwixt two: Ought he to obey his orders and so lose the dignity of signing; or ought he to sign

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and so disobey orders? He chose the latter, and all this rigmarole is told us by garrulous Tso to account for the way in which the disobedient delegate got snubbed in the particular style given him in the *Ch'un Ch'iu* in connection with the Conference.

One last hitch occurred even after the whole of the delegates were assembled and the ceremony in progress. Was the covenant to be between Chin and Ch'u, or between Ch'u and Chin? Chao Wên-tsŭ pointed out that the premier place had "always" (*sic*) belonged to Chin. Nobody had ever thought of signing a covenant before Chin. Tzŭ-mu retorts, "You've been talking ever so much about Chin and Ch'u being 'equals.' What sort of equals are we if Chin is always to sign first and Ch'u always to take the second place? Besides which, it isn't true to say that Chin has always signed first. Ch'u, as well as Chin, has been 'Lord of the Covenant'." The block seemed serious. Once more Shu Hsiang came to the help of the Chin premier. He whispered to him: "The smaller states acknowledge the primacy of Chin not because Chin is the first to wet her lips with the covenant blood, but because of her virtue. Look after the virtue of Chin and don't bother about precedence in ritual. Moreover, remember that it falls to the lot of a minor state to make the arrangements for the ritual. Let Ch'u make these ritual arrangements and so put herself in the position of a minor state." Who could resist such an appeal to have it both ways? Not the premier of Chin, who at once accorded this position of inferiority-superiority to Ch'u.

So was the covenant signed and a paper arrangement made for putting a stop to the wars of the barons.

Tso chatters on about sundry feasting in a way that can only be appreciated to the full by those who can see the point of a quotation from the Book of Odes as clearly as a good English *littérateur* can see an apposite quotation from Shakespeare. We spare our readers any attempt to reproduce the brilliant thrust and parry that went on in the after-dinner speeches of the year B.C. 456. But the closing scene of this League of Nations is too good to be left out. When all was over Pacifist Hsü went to the duke of Sung and said, "Grant

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me some towns as a reward for this 'prevention of death' that I have wrought." And the duke granted him sixty 'towns.' (We have no means of knowing how small a 'town' could be in those olden days.) Happy Hsü Hsiang calls on his friend Tzŭ-han and shows him the grant. Tzŭ-han proved himself faithful, as a friend ought to be. He hurled the following oration at his erring brother. "Chin and Ch'u have kept the small states in awe by their militarism." (I know not whether I ought to apologize to the shades of Tzŭ-han for putting into his mouth a word that I have only heard used by the other man and not by the alleged 'militarist.' The word in the original is the simple *ping* which still does duty for 'soldier.') "These men awed, there has been kindness and harmony between the highest and the lowest. By harmony and kindness, it has been possible to keep the states in peace and tranquility." (Tzŭ-han, like his successors who have gone from China to Versailles this year of grace, is not hampered by mere prosaic historical accuracy. He represents the past as it ought to have been, and indeed as it would have been if only his assumptions had been correct.) "Thus," he goes on, "the small states have served the great. Do away with awe, and pride comes in. Pride begets rebellion. Rebellion ends in destruction, and all is lost. Nature gives birth to the five elements; these the people use. You may not annul one of them. How, then, can you do without militarism." (As far as I know this passage is unique in making militarism one of the 'five elements.') "Militarism has been part of the plan of things as they have been from of old. Therewith eccentricity has been awed and virtue has been emblazoned. Sages have risen and rebels have been destroyed by militarism. Rise and fall, preservation and destruction, clearness and dimness,—all these spring from militarism. And you are trying to do away with militarism! Isn't this a case of deception? Using the highroad of deception to mislead all the barons—what crime could be greater than yours? You ought to have incurred serious punishment, and, forsooth, you claim a reward. Insatiable, insatiable to a degree!!" And the irate orator

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could control himself no longer. He seized the offensive document granting the towns and cut it in pieces.

Thereupon Hsiang Hsü declined the 'towns.' His clansfolk were angered and wished to attack Tzŭ-han. But the quondam pacifist interfered. "I was on the road to ruin. The Master preserved me. No virtue is greater than his. How is it possible that you should attack him?"

The two paragraphs that tell of the Conference in the bald manner of the Annals are separated by two references to deeds of violence. The paragraph that follows is one of those useful references to solar eclipses that enable us to keep the work in touch with western chronology. The next begins a new year with a reference to the mildness of the winter,—'There was no ice.' And then immediately we recommence the stories of civil strife that continue to the end of the work as they had entered it at the beginning. The days that followed those of the *Ch'un Ch'iu* are known as those of the "Fighting States," though how such a title can distinguish them from the days of the Annals no one has ever been able to say.

There are a few references to the Peace Conference in later paragraphs of Tso's—but the first League of Nations was a much greater failure than the last attempt a century ago. The Big Four never meant business in the first; their successors of last century seriously meant to do *all* the business. Were either spirit prevailing to-day, the new effort would prove as abortive as its predecessors. The very fact that 2,500 years ago men wanted a League and used good arguments for it and bad ones against it, tells in favour of success now more than the fact that they were swayed by the bad arguments and merely gave a lip homage to the good ones can tell against it. Vienna did not "repeat" Sung; neither will Versailles "repeat" either.

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STUDIES IN CHINESE PSYCHOLOGY

BY

HERBERT CHATLEY, D.SC. (LOND.)

IV. THE FAMILY SOUL

ON various occasions the present writer has called attention to the idea that the Chinese practice and belief on the subject of heredity and ancestor worship can be expressed in terms of a continuous "family soul." *

The great Sung scholar Chu Hsi says "My life is that of my ancestors," and, speaking of a modern Shantung man who seemed to confuse his ancestors with himself, Mr. R. F. Johnston says "Looking upon his family, dead and alive, as one and indivisible, he could not see any practical difficulty between the statement that certain funeral rites had been carried out by himself and the statement that they had been carried out by a direct ancestor" (*Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, pp. 139-140).

* "Whatever dogmas may have been discovered by Chinese or foreign scholars in the classics, or whatever may be dogmatically lacking to support such an idea, it is perfectly clear that the Chinese behave and have behaved for millenia as if the soul of each clan were a continuous organism having an annual pulse, incarnate in the living descendants, transfusible into the women brought into the clan by marriage and into the children co-opted by adoption, immanent in all that lives associated with the family, and present at the tombs, the ancestral temple and the family altar." *Magical Practice in China*, Journal, N. China Branch R.A.S., vol. xlviii, 1917.

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This hypothesis reconciles various outstanding features of Chinese belief, *e.g.*:—

(1) The extreme reverence for ancestors, particularly those of the direct line.

(2) The community of worship in the ancestral temple.

(3) The desire for numerous descendants to carry on the ancestral worship.

(4) The alleged effect of auspicious "Feng-shui" upon the deceased ancestors, and the use of the "Breath of Heaven" by the ancestors for the benefit of the living descendants and their livestock.

(5) The assumption by unimportant members of a family of spiritual efficacy after death.

(6) The canonization or ennoblement of deceased ancestors.

(7) The annual ceremonies of worship at the grave, temple and family altar, which nourish and revive the influences of the dead.

(8) The restriction of worship to the descendants of the worshipped.

It is however but fair to say that Dr. Wu Ting fang, in a letter to the writer, says:—

"You propose to affirm that the soul of a family in China "constitutes one organism and that the psychic energy of the "family soul expresses itself through the living members of the "family, those actually deceased manifesting in so far as the "living members keep in rapport with them by the ceremonies "of filial piety. There is no doubt that there is psychic "influence in the family, but the way you put it is somewhat "novel to me, and I am not at present, without investigation "and deep thinking, able to affirm or deny your theory."

In submitting such an hypothesis one is of course at once brought to a fundamental distinction between oriental and occidental methods of thinking.. The occident demands formulae which will systematize beliefs and provide a maximum of what is the sole criterion of truth, consistency, whereas the orient is generally satisfied with a vague congeries of ideas which is not necessarily capable of being brought to a sharp focus. Nevertheless the writer cannot but feel that Chinese

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beliefs and religious practice certainly do amount to a consideration of the family rather than the individual *sub specie aeternitatis*.

In this connection it is interesting to compare the most modern religious development which runs along somewhat similar lines, viz., Mormonism. In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, under this heading, there is the following description of Mormon doctrine:—

"The Mormons no longer claim to be a Christain sect, "any more than do the Mohammedans. A system of "polytheism has been grafted on the original creed, according "to which there are grades among the gods, the pláce of "Supreme Ruler of all being taken by the primeval Adam of "Genesis, who is the deity highest in spiritual rank, while "Christ, Mohammed, Joseph Smith and Brigham Young also "partake of divinity. The business of these deities is the "propagation of souls to bodies begotten on earth, and "the sexual relation permeates every portion of the creed as "thoroughly as it did that of ancient India or Egypt. The "saints on leaving this world are deified, and their glory is "in proportion to the number of their wives and children, "hence, the necessity and justification of polygamy, and the "practice of having many wives sealed to one saint."

There are some traces of similar ideas in ancient Jewish belief. Grant Allen, Simpson and Frazer have written very convincingly as to the probability of Yahweh being a remote ancestor of the Israelites, and there are repeated references to a relation between His worship and the possession of numerous offspring. In the commandments, a quasi-ancestral responsibility is suggested when it is said that the sins of the father will be visited unto the third and fourth generation while mercy will be shown unto thousands (*i.e.*, of generations) of them that love Yahweh and keep His commandments. The promise to the "seed of Abraham" can bear a similar interpretation without violence to the text.

When we turn to modern investigations it is found that these ideas have a certain amount of support from actual facts. Biologists now hold that the progressive evolution of a race or species is chiefly due to the variations of the

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individuals from the parent stock and not, as the Darwinians hold, from inheritance of peculiarities acquired during the life of the individual from his environment, so that evolution is fundamentally germinal and not due as it were to mere mechanical action of the conditions.*

Furthermore it is found that each individual is, apart from his individual variations from type, a complete synthesis of his ancestry, and in the realm of mind there is considerable reason to suppose this is also true there. We are solidary with our ancestors and through them with all humanity, but in a degree decreasing with remoteness of blood, and if the family soul be conceived to be, as it were, the foundation and subliminal of the individual soul, it is a real fact which cannot be neglected.

Is it then suggested that ancestral worship and "Feng-shui" are of real value? The answer to this question is not simple. In the first place, it must be admitted that the worship of ancestors has developed in China beyond any degree which can be useful. Secondly, it can be asserted without grave error, that there are many features in this worship which are merely conventional survivals and have no real value *except in so far as they conserve the social structure.* Lastly, and on the other hand, the writer holds that these practices, if they are combined with a living belief in physical and psychical heredity may perhaps be usefully employed in controlling the family soul which is certainly incarnate in the individuals.

* It should perhaps be mentioned that some hold that these germinal variations are themselves "mechanical," but the evidence is as yet quite insufficient to support the hypothesis.

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A STUDY IN EARLY CHINESE RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR MORLEY

SECTION III

THREE rites have been left to a separate section, because of the uncertainty whether they belong to Nature Worship or Ancestral. In the first month of his reign Shun, besides a *wang*, offered a *lei* 類 to Shang-ti, a *yin* 禋 to the six *tsung* 宗, and extended his worship to the "host of spirits," *shên* 神. These have now to be considered.

The word *yin* is used in the Odes adjectivally, meaning 'pure' of sacrifices in Nature worship.* Dr. Legge, with most Chinese critics, takes it in this sense in the passage before us, and translates, "sacrificed purely to the six Honoured Ones," that is, to some of the aspects of Nature; but who or what the six Honoured Ones were is much disputed. On the other hand, *yin* is used verbally of a sacrifice to ancestors,† making a more exact parallel to its use here, where, like *lei* and *wang*, it seems to be the name of a specific sacrifice; and *tsung* is found most frequently in connection with the Ancestral temple; so Dr. Ross has good textual grounds for thinking that the *yin* was

* O—II, vi. 8, 4; III, ii. 1, 2; iii, 4, 2.

† H—V, xiii. 26, 29; cf. O—III, ii. 1, 1.

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to Ancestors. He further points out that otherwise the list of Shun's sacrifices does not include any of the ancestral worship unless it be in the somewhat offhand expression "host of spirits," which he rightly thinks to be unlikely.* The only difficulty of this interpretation is again with the numeral six. The question of the *yin* might be of considerable importance to our present studies if these six could be determined; but whether ancestral or non-ancestral the records throw no light upon them, and the mere name of the rite does not tell us much.

We will now take the last clause, "he extended his worship to the host of spirits, *shên*." In the other clauses *lei*, *wang* and *yin* are all verbs used of special sacrifices, and the compiler may have found them in the memoranda from which he wrote his history of Shun; but in this last clause the verb cannot be taked in a technical sense of a particular sacrifice: it is quite indefinite, and reads less like the expression of a contemporary record than the literary emendation of a writer finishing his sentence. Still he probably had some other rites in mind. It was suggested in our last section that *shên* originally meant the spirits of the dead, but it is difficult to believe that the compiler would give ancestral rites the last place in his list, and describe them in this vague phrase, especially if, as is quite possible, they had been mentioned in the *yin*.

Shên, then, will comprehend natural objects of worship. The reader will remember that the *shê* goes back at least to the Hsia dynasty immediately following Shun, and that it included several objects of nature connected with the land, which may all be combined in the expression "host of spirits." Or again, there is another term found in the records to which we have not yet alluded; it is the *shên-ch'i*, 神祇, often found

* Ross, *The Original Religion of China*. In discussing the *Wang*, attention was drawn to the uncertain origin of this passage: to the present writer it seems to be, as Dr. Ross' argument requires it to be, the compiler's own summary of what he took to be Shun's regular sacrifices throughout his reign. Should it be taken as an historical record of what was actually done in the first month, the argument from the omission of ancestral worship may not hold good.

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in the phrase "upper and lower *shên-ch'i.*" It was in use at least in the Shang dynasty, when the viscount of Wei complained that "the people of Yin will even steal the pure and perfect victims devoted to the *shên-ch'i*;"* the use of animals suggests that the sacrifice was to some natural object. The only other passage in the pre-Chou records which seems to give any intimation of the meaning of *shên ch'i* is in the doubtful *T'ai Chia*, which says, "he served the *shên ch'hi*, the *shê* and *chi* and the Ancestral temple"; † here it is distinguished from both ancestral worship and the nature-worship of land and grain, so that, unless it be a third category of sacrifices, in which case it is inexplicable, it almost must be taken comprehensively to include the worship of all spirits, human and non-human. In the Analects Tzŭ-lu justifies his proposal to pray for the sick Master by quoting the Eulogies, "Prayer has been made to the *shên ch'i* above and below." The Eulogies was a collection of orations made in praise of the dead when the posthumous title was bestowed in the Ancestral temple, and the object of the prayer would naturally be the ancestral manes.

These uncertain indications of the meaning of the phrase tend however to show that the *shên ch'i* were all spiritual beings, but sometimes more especially those of nature and sometimes those of ancestors; the almost universal interpretation of the full phrase "the *shên ch'i* above and below" is, the spirits of heaven and the spirits of earth, and in this sense Dr. Legge consistently translates it.

To return to Shun's "host of spirits": it seems probable, in view of what has been said, that the phrase means simply 'spiritual beings,' but especially those of nature, if indeed it is meant to include ancestors at all. The passage is the only one in the authentic books before the Chou dynasty, in which *shên* by itself has this meaning; it is the compiler's own expression, and he wrote probably not long before the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period, when *shên* was already applied to the spirits of natural objects.

* H—IV, xi. 6; see the more doubtful 'Announcement of T'ang,' H—IV, iii. 4.

† H—IV, v. (i), 2.

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The third recipient of worship to be considered in this section is Shang-ti. Its high importance demands precise knowledge of what the records actually say. Shun's is the only *lei* sacrifice mentioned in the better authenticated books of the *Shu-ching*, and there in a book which is purely historical and written late. The more doubtful Great Declaration says that king Wu "offered a *lei* to Shang-ti and performed due service to great earth."* The only other reference to this sacrifice is in the Odes, which say that king Wên, before his attack upon Ts'ung, "offered a *lei* and a *ma* 𩣑."† Of the three passages this last alone can be regarded with certainty as an original document, and it does not say to whom the sacrifice was offered. Whilst thinking it worth while to point out this fact, it is not meant to deny that the *lei* was offered to Shang-ti. In the few other places in the *Shu-ching* where the word is found it has the idea of a class, or to discriminate,‡ and most Chinese critics explain it, when used of the sacrifice, as meaning 'special'; but in the Odes it is also used for a blessing or good.§ If the usual interpretation be taken and the *lei* was a special sacrifice to Shang-ti it might be inferred that there was also a regular sacrifice.‖ T'ang the Successful is made to say in the Announcement of T'ang, "Great Shang-ti has conferred a moral sense upon the people"; and then he goes on, "I presumed to use a dark-coloured victim, and making clear announcement to the Spiritual Sovereign in High Heaven, requested permission to deal with Hsia as with a criminal."¶ The change from

* H—V, i. (i), 10.

† O—III, i. 7, 8.

‡ H—IV, v. (ii), 3; viii. (i) 2; V, i. (iii) 2.

§ O—III, i. 3, 5, 6; iii. 10, 5.

‖ Dr. Legge, indulging a too frequent habit of paraphrasing according to the commentators, translates, "he sacrificed specially but with ordinary forms." Dr. Edkins (*China's Place in Philology*, p. 27, note) connects the old sound of the word, *lut*, with the lut of round, and suggests that it refers to the round altar used later in the sacrifice to Heaven. This would seem to imply that knowledge of the *lei* was only by oral tradition: the written character has no idea of roundness.

¶ H—IV, iii. 2-4.

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Shang-ti to Spiritual Sovereign suggests that his sacrifice was to a deceased king or emperor. Ssŭ-ma's theory of the five *ti* before Yao indeed supplies T'ang with an imperial ancestor, but it cannot be allowed that T'ang himself knew anything of him. The colour of his victim was that of the Hsia dynasty, as though he sacrificed to Hsia's own ancestry for permission to punish him; this would be sufficiently startling; the book however is on the doubtful list and the Analects, quoting this passage as it presumably existed at that time, instead of 'Spiritual Sovereign in High Heaven' reads 'Great Sovereign Ti:'* it is the expression for Shang-ti which we have met with in the Lu odes, and the probability is that T'ang's sacrifice was to Shang-ti. Is so, the occasion was still very special, and the fact remains that the pre-Chou documents do not mention any regular worship of Shang-ti. Under the mid-Chou dynasty there undoubtedly were more regular sacrifices: a royal ode, probably used at the *chiao*, says, "As the fragrance ascends, Shang-ti, well-pleased, smells the sweet savour;" † and another, written for king Hsüan in time of drought, implies sacrifices to him but does not say where they were offered.

The books of the Hsia are few; but it may be worth while in this study to notice that, outside of those written by the compiler, they contain no reference to Shang-ti. At the close of the dynasty, however, T'ang the Successful declared that obedience to Shang-ti compelled him to punish Hsia, ‡ and the Odes attribute the foundation of his dynasty to Shang-ti. ‖

In the Chou books he is more frequently brought before our attention, though not as often as Heaven; those books which speak of him speak also of Heaven, whilst many which

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* A—XX, i, 3. It is to be admitted that quotations in any of the Four books do not inspire confidence in their verbal accuracy; and the reading in this case from the Analects is not supported by Mo-tzŭ 墨子 who also refers to the passage. (See L—vol. III, p. 187; vol II, proleg. pp. 116-7.)

† O—III, ii, 1; cf. IV, i (ii), 1; also probably for the *chiao*: see preceding section on the *chiao*.

‡ H—IV, i, 2: cf. vii (iii) 4.

‖ O—IV, iii, 3, 1; 4, 1-3.

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teach the moral government of Heaven do not mention Shang-ti. In the Odes also, Heaven is the more prominent. The moral rule of the two powers is one and the same, and many passages use first the one term, then the other, apparently with indifference.

In no sense is Shang-ti a dynastic deity; he surveys the whole empire—"all under Heaven,"—and impartially chooses the best on earth for the highest seat. That characteristic of Heaven which warns kings and dynasties against presuming upon its favour attaches no less to Shang-ti. His prominent attribute is Justice unrelieved by Mercy. The 'Numerous Regions' says that the king of Yin might have received warning from the events which preced his final doom,* but Shang-ti is no god to plead with evil-doers; his judgements come suddenly and overwhelmingly, like a catastrophe in Nature. There is a certain hardness in the conception of Shang-ti's moral government, which dwells little upon pity and much upon majesty clothed with terrors. Though, along with Heaven, he is responsible for man's moral nature, unlike Heaven, the more tender term "parent of the people" is not applied to him.

We have already brought before the reader what little is said about the beginning of things; the formation of natural objects, the birth of man with the gift of his moral nature, are more generally referred to Heaven. So also is the control of the physical forces; drought and famine, flood, the storm and the fruitful year, are from Heaven;† once however, the Odes say that Shang-ti 'appointed' wheat and barley for the use of man, and again that he gives a fruitful year;‡ this is the blessing sought for and promised in the Ancestral temple. The control over nature, limited to blessing man's toil, which is allowed to Shang-ti and ancestors, is the result of their particular function of caring for the people, whilst Heaven's wider control over all the physical elements is

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* H—V, xiv, 5; cf. xviii, 14.

† H—IV, vii (ii) 3, flood; V, vi, 16, 19; O—II, iv, 10: III, iii, 4: IV, iii, 2.

‡ O—IV, i. (i), 10; (ii), 1.

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innate, for Heaven is Nature. Thus there may be more consistency in thought than might have been expected.

The outstanding difference is that while both have a 'mind' and a 'will,' Heaven, according to the view maintained in these papers, though living and spiritual in a naturalistic sense, is still impersonal; whereas Shang-ti is clearly conceived of as a personality. At least one mark of personality is denied to the one and asserted of the other: the Odes declare that Heaven utters no sound;* when a command is given in words it is by Shang-ti:† he is the mouthpiece of Heaven. As a person he is localized; the virtuous kings are in Heaven, but ascend and descend on the right and left of *Ti*; he, with them, is the guest of Heaven, sitting in the chief seat. We use the similes 'mouthpiece' and 'guest,' instead of what many would prefer, 'mind' and 'lord,' because they follow from the fuller powers which are attributed to Heaven. The records do not say, indeed, that Heaven is superior to Shang-ti, but only describe its powers as being greater. Nor need we we wonder at the apparent absurdity which makes the impersonal of two Powers greater than the personal one. An early naturalistic philosophy would have no clear conception of personality; man was but an augmented manifestation of impersonal Nature, and being only a part, was necessarily inferior to the whole; so also with the deceased kings, the best of the human race, who made the Court of Shang-ti; Shang-ti himself was still higher yet came short of the more comprehensive Heaven or Nature. As in the *Tso-chuan* the Directors of the elements, rivers, and individual states, exercised their power under Heaven, and were deified by being translated to certain stars of the heavens: so Shang-ti, ruler of the entire empire, abides in Heaven itself. It is he who derives glory from his uncreated abode, and not the heavens which declare the glory of the Chinese Elohim.

With regard to Shang-ti's relation to ancestors, we have seen that, like them he has the guidance of individuals and families, but unlike them he is the agent which overthrows

* O—III, i. i 7; cf. M—V, a. v. 4.
† O—III, i. 7.

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and sets up dynasties. As immediate ancestors have large powers over the families and the Remote Ancestor over particular dynasties, so Shang-ti has over the whole nation, irrespective of dynasties. The virtuous kings of both Shang and Chou and the founders of feudal states attend upon him in Heaven,* which is the "hall of Ti,"† and the dead make their petitions to him.‡ Thus he is supreme over all ancestors, and Tso-shih makes Mêng Wu-tzŭ 孟武子 of Lu say, "Though Hou Chi is nearer in relationship, Ti takes the precedence."§

We come now to Shang-ti's relation towards non-ancestral spirits. Neither in the *Shu-ching* nor in the Odes is any other raised to the same intimacy with Heaven as he: but what personal spirit except Hou Chi is found in these books? Dr. Ross appeals to the drought ode of king Hsüan ‖ in support of his thesis that Shang-ti is "supreme" over all spirits.¶ As he does not refer to any particular expression, we will quote all that the ode says bearing upon spiritual beings. "What crime is chargeable to us that Heaven should send death and disorder? . . . from the *chiao* to the Ancestral temple I have presented and burned my offerings to those above and below. There is no spirit, *shên*, which I have not honoured, and yet Hou Chi cannot be moved and Shang-ti does not come to me . . . Not half a man will be left, nor will Shang-ti from the great heavens spare even me . . . The many dukes and their ministers of the past give me no help. O ye parents and ancestors, how can ye bear to see me thus? . . . The many dukes and their ministers of the past do not hear me. O Shang-ti from the great heavens grant me liberty to retire. . . . In praying for a good year I was abundantly early, nor was I slow in sacrificing to the four quarters or to the land;

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* O—III, i. 1, 16: H—IV, v. (iii) 3: T—618b: cf. H—IV, viii (iii) 10 V, xvi. 8. In H the Shang kings are only said to be in Heaven (H—V xii, 10).

† H—V, vi. 7; cf. xii, 9.

‡ T—157, 374a.

§ T—234a.

‖ O—III, iii, 4.

¶ Ross; *The Original Religion of China*.

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yet Shang-ti in the great heavens does not regard me, Reverent to the intelligent spirits, I ought not thus to endure their fierce anger. . . "

The hiatuses are all descriptive of the drought. The king, indeed, while sacrificing at many altars, prays only to Shang-ti for permission to retire, but the throne was his peculiar care. The complaint that though he had sacrificed at the *chiao* and to the land and the four quarters it is ancestors, Hou Chi and Shang-ti, who do not hear, does not make Shang-ti the controller of these objects of Nature worship any more than the other two. The sentence "There is no spirit which I have not honoured, yet Hou Chi cannot be moved and Shang-ti does not come to me," includes Shang-ti amongst the *shên* as clearly as it includes Hou Chi, to whom, if to either, precedence is given. We do not find then that the ode makes Shang-ti supreme over all spirits. Nor is he elsewhere said to to have authority over them: their court is in the stars, and only ancestors are found in the Hall of Ti.

In later times the worship of Shang-ti became an imperial prerogative, but there are signs that it was not always so. The *Shu-ching* teaches that the people as well as kings owe him service and are expected to follow his ways. * The mother of Hou Chi offered him a sacrifice which he accepted, † and king Wên offered his *lei* whilst still a subject. When the viscount of Wei 微 was inducted to his fief, the king assured him that Shang-ti would enjoy his offerings. ‡ An earl of Ch'in sacrificed to Shang-ti in 771 B.C; § in this year Ch'in was received for the first time into the comity of states and would hardly begin its intercourse with them by usurping a privilege which they did not claim. A murdered prince of Chin appeared in ghostly form to an old friend and told him that he had prayed to Ti and obtained his request. ‖

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* H—V iv 3; vii, 13; xix 12; cf. O—II iv. 8, 4; III ii 10.

† O—III ii 1.

‡ H—V, viii, 3; a doubtful book.

§ SM - vol. ii, p. 15; cf. T—383a.

‖ T—157.

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When the murderers of marquis Chuang of Ch'i imposed a covenant on the people in the middle of sixth century B.C., the philosopher Yen Tzŭ 晏子, looking up to heaven appealed to Shang-ti, smeared his mouth with the blood of the victim and took the oath. *

In the absence of evidence to the contrary, these instances may be thought sufficient to show that Shang-ti was not entirely removed from the lives and thoughts of the people in these times. Dr. Legge maintained, as a part of his theory that the original religion of the Chinese was monotheistic, that all their rites were designed in the service of Shang-ti † and the Doctrine of the Mean says that whilst in the worship of the temple the ancient kings "sacrificed to" their ancestors, they "served" Shang-ti in the *chiao* and *shê*; ‡ it was mediately and not directly; primarily the nature rites were to earth, or, if the *chiao* early became associated with Heaven and so in the Chou dynasty with Shang-ti, the *shê* was to the Father of Husbandry. The conception was the philosopher's search for unity, but in his time it was very faint in the minds of the people, filled as they were with more closely realized spiritual beings. Then, the worship of Shang-ti was a dying cult, and gave the kings an opportunity to arrogate to themselves what had been a national custom. The nobles encroached upon the prerogatives of the kings, and they on the rights of the people.

It remains now to enquire into the origin of the Shang-ti cult. It is impossible to deny absolutely that it is the remnant of a still older belief in some supreme god, Creator and Ruler of the universe, but evidence for that must be sought for outside of these records: they know of no Creation, and the only other spiritual beings of which they teach belong either to Nature worship or to Ancestral worship. As long then as we confine our enquiries to the Chinese records the origin of the cult must be sought for in one of these two systems. The question has been so long and so hotly debated that we shall only summarize the arguments which seem to carry weight, and then give our own conclusion.

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* T—514b. † L—I p. 268. ‡ D—xix. 6.

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The principal facts which seem to point to his being the personified spirit of Heaven are that in the ordering of the dynasties the name, or rather title, is used in the *Shu-ching* and in the Odes almost as a synonym with Heaven, and when the Heavenly Decree is given in words it is Shang-ti who pronounces it. Also, though the odes of the Ancestral temple speak of him, with Heaven, as the source of the family prosperity, they do not say that he partook in the sacrifices, but only in that of the *chiao* which was offered to Heaven.

On the other hand, this ode is of unknown date, and we have seen that in mid-Chou times there was a tendency to connect all sacrifices, but especially the *chiao*, with Shang-ti, whilst the odes of the royal temple were probably written early in the dynasty, when the rites were still limited to the Remote Ancestor. Shang-ti's authority over men was shared with ancestors, only his was greater than theirs is not being confined to a dynasty. Nor is his authority over the forces of nature, limited as it was to the bestowal of the people's sustenance, different in kind from that of ancestors. Also, ancestors alone form his court in heaven. His authority and court, then, connect him with ancestors, and his title Ti is that of the early emperors. Again, as far as the early records show, Shang-ti, along with ancestors, was worshipped when as yet there was no regular worship of Heaven. Further, when the other personified spirits were introduced they were deified men, and none were of super-human origin. To us, the weight of evidence is heavily in favour of the ancestral origin of the Shang-ti cult.

Who, then, was this deified man? In the *Shu-ching* only Yao and Shun, not Yü, are called Ti; but whilst the last is frequently mentioned again in the authentic books after his time,* Yao is not, and Shun is alluded to only once, being called the Great Ti 皇帝, in 'Prince Lü on Punishments.'† It has therefore been suggested that that the

* H—III, i.1 ; V, iv, 3 ; xix, 22 ; xiii, 8.

† H—V, xxvii, 5. Some take him to be Yao, others, followed by Legge, take him for Shun. The context says that "he cut off the Miao"; the compiler of the classic has it that they were banished by Shun under Yao (H—II, i. 12, *cf* 21).

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Shang-ti of the *Shu ching* is Yao. If this be accepted it must be supposed that by the time of the compiler the identification had already been forgotten, and that when he wrote "Shun offered a *lei* to Shang-ti," Yao being still alive, the last two words are his own gloss, and that his records, like the passage in the Odes, used *lei* as a neuter verb. From what we have already said about the passage this may be allowed; but then the *lei*, if not to Shang-ti, becomes a greater enigma. The theory also will not account for Shun being so seldom mentioned unless it be modified, taking Shang-ti in the plural, as some do take it, and including Shun with Yao. This would be preferable; Ti used alone is then without ambiguity, and it will be immaterial or perhaps better should the "Great Ti" be referred to Yao. Even then the Shang-ti also spoken of in the 'Prince Lü on Punishments' will be awkward of interpretation, nor will the silence of the Odes about Yao and Shun be fully explained, for most of them were written after the compilation of the *Shu-ching* when, as we have seen, the origin of Shang-ti was forgotten.* Both forms of the theory will be almost impossible to those who hold the authenticity of all the books of the present *Shu-ching*, because in the "Song of the Five Sons" Yao is called merely "the Prince of T'ao 陶 and T'ang 唐,"† and in the Charge to Yüeh and the Officers of Chou both he and Shun are spoken of: in the one by name, in the other by their dynastic name.‡ The theory then, though attractive, is difficult of maintenance, and we should look still further back for the antetype of Shang-ti. It is perhaps here that we may catch an echo of some monotheistic belief. If not, it becomes almost necessary to postulate rulers before Yao and Shun, and so far the later legend of the Five Ti has a basis in reason; still they are entirely legendary, and cannot be traced beyond the time of Tso-shih, nor, as they stand, do they account for the Shang-ti cult except by making those

* The later odes of the feudal states are more popular in character, and deal but little with the past history; if Yao and Shun are not mentioned at all, Shang-ti is mentioned very seldom.

† H—III, iii. 7.

‡ H—IV, viii. (iii.), 10; V, xx. 3.

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rulers to be ancestors of all the dynasties and feudal chiefs; but this again is strong evidence of their fabulous nature, framed to support the theory of the homogeneity of the ruling families.

As we cannot say with Dr. Legge that the cult of Shang-ti was the original religion of the Chinese; so we must further admit that it was probably only a phase, culminating in the early Chou dynasty. It had already begun to decay in the time of king Mu, and when the compiler of the *Shu-ching* did his work he mentions Shang-ti only in connection with the rites, but makes no moral appeal to him; these appeals are all in the documents and odes. In the *Ch'un-ch'iu* period the cult as a power amongst the people was already dead, surviving as a relic in the later imperial worship.

To whatever origin the Shang-ti cult be eventually assigned, it has long been lost to the Chinese, and for three thousand years he has been to them just the spiritual Ruler of the nation, whose personality, preserved in the ancient books, their philosophers have been unable to explain away. It has been a great gain to find in their classics the idea of a being fitted to wield the powers of their moral Heaven, not degraded to the likeness of a man or entangled in the passions and loves of a *Zeus*. In it the Christian convert has little to unlearn, though he will have much to add before obtaining an adequate conception of the Creator of the Universe, the Father of Lights.

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THE NINGPO FISHERIES

BY

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NINGPO is the greatest market in China for fish of every kind, which is exported to nearly all native ports, and even to foreign countries.

The number of craft fitted out for the sea fisheries is over 10,000 in the Chusan archipelago. A license must be procured for each boat from the civil authority. For fishing on the shores of the islands, application for space must be made to the officials, as the ground belongs to the government. There are also special regulations for fishing in the lakes, rivers and canals. On payment of a small sum, a certain amount of space is granted by the officials, and a license issued, but the holder is thenceforward held responsible for the preservation of the fish in his allotment. In order to keep the stock in good condition, a proportionate quantity of young fry must yearly be placed in the water, and no fishing is allowed during the spawning season.

Nets are manufactured at Taichow (台州), 140 miles south of Ningpo, also at Chinhai (鎮海), and in some of the small villages in the neighbourhood. Most of the nets are

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made of hemp twine obtained from China grass—*Urtica nivea* —tanned in a solution of mangrove bark and dipped in pigs' blood. Silk nets are made at Shaohsing (紹興). Fishing lines are made of jute, hemp, coir and silk; coarse ropes of twisted bamboo, straw, and reeds. Many kinds of fish traps are made of plaited bamboo.

As the chief fishing grounds are at some distance from Ningpo, special ice-boats follow the fishing-junks to buy the catch and bring it back to Ningpo between layers of ice. Among the first objects which strike the eye on the approach to Ningpo from seaward, are the thatched, tent-like constructions in which ice is preserved during the summer. The bottom of these ice-houses is nearly on a level with the surrounding fields, and is generally about twenty yards long by fourteen broad. The walls, which are built of mud and stone, are very thick, twelve feet in height, and are in fact a kind of embankment rather than walls, having a door on a side level with the floor for the removal of the ice, and a sloping terrace on the other side, from which the ice can be thrown into the house. On the top of the walls or embankment a tall span roof is raised, constructed of bamboo, thickly thatched with straw, and in appearance exactly like a haystack. The Chinese, with characteristic ingenuity, manages to fill his ice-houses in a most simple way, and at a very trifling expense. Around the house he has a small level field connected with the river, from which he takes care to flood it before the approach of winter. The water thus freezes and furnishes the necessary supply of ice at the very door. Again in spring these same fields are ploughed up and planted with rice. The ice thus stored is used for preserving the fish caught in vast quantities off the mouth of the river and in the Chusan archipelago.

Soon after the middle of March the fleets set sail for the first season of fishing, the captains having selected by the almanack an auspicious day for so important a move, and paid due heed to their traditional maxims for prognosticating fine weather. This first fishing season lasts about three months; the second, or winter season is shorter.

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Four kinds of craft are employed for the sea fisheries, viz:—

(1) The *Pu ch'uan* (捕船), or "catching ships," which take all sorts of fish with nets and lines;

(2) The *Ta-tui ch'uan* (大對船), or "great pair boats," so named because they always go in pairs dragging a large net between them;

(3) The *Hsiao-tui ch'uan* (小對船), or "small pair boats," a smaller kind of *ta-tui*;

(4) The *Wu-tsei ch'uan* (烏賊船), or "black robber (cuttle-fish) boat," which are of small tonnage, and take cuttle-fish with nets.

Many varieties of fish are caught at sea—sharks, mackerel, pomfret, rock cod, mullet, bream, conger, *huang yü* (黃魚) or "yellow fish," *tai yü* (帶魚) "or scabbard fish," *lo yü* (勒魚) or shad, etc., but of all kinds the most important by far is the cuttle-fish, of which Ningpo alone receives from 40,000 to 120,000 *piculs* in good years, and the market price is increasing yearly, showing that the supply is not enough for the demand. Jelly fish are caught with hand nets, and, nearer the shores, long conical nets, so disposed that they always present their aperture to the tide, are used for catching shrimps. Shrimps and crabs abound in the sea, lakes, rivers, and canals, and oysters are cultivated principally at the head of Nimrod Sound. Cockles and mussels are also gathered on the rocky islets outside the Chusan group. A kind of solenoid shell, called by the Ningpoese *Ch'ing tzŭ* ([redacted]子)—Mandarin pronunciation *Ch'êng tzŭ*—and another mollusc known as *Ni lo* (泥螺), or "mud screw," are gathered at low water, and held in high esteem by Chinese *gourmets*. On the mud flats, left along the coast by the receding tides, long nets are fixed vertically on bamboos, in the shape of a half circle or of a labyrinth. Fish are left prisoners in these enclosures at low tide. A special kind of mud sledge is used by the natives to visit these weirs. These sledges, called *Ni ma* (泥馬), q.d. "mud horses," are made of three small boards, and look like a long slipper or snow shoe; they are five or six feet long and one foot broad. The structure is made solid by three cross-bars. In the

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middle two uprights, 18 inches high, support a transverse bar. The fisherman, placing one knee in the middle of the sledge, and supporting himself by both hands on the bar, propels himself rapidly along over the mud by pushing with the other leg. Upon the sledge he carries a basket or two to hold his fish.

Many are the ways used in the Ningpo district for catching fish in the rivers, lakes and canals, but none of them are more curious than the fishing with trained cormorants. The best cormorants come from Fênghua (奉化), Shaohsing (紹興), and T'anghsichên (塘西鎮). The birds sit along a rail in a small boat, and are urged into the water with a pole. Each cormorant has a ring or cord round its neck to prevent its swallowing the fish it catches, and its legs are connected by a short piece of string forming a loop by which refractory birds may at any moment be brought on board *nolens volens* with a long bamboo hook.

Another remarkable method of fishing is to be seen on the Ningpo river. It is the catching of fish by moonlight, with a long, narrow, flat boat, provided on one side with a board sloping down into the water and painted a bright white. On the other side of this craft is a net stretched vertically on stanchions. The fish, attracted by the white board, jump upon it, and thence into the boat—the net preventing them from falling into the water on the other side.

The natives also fish with the *Kan tsêng* (捍罾), or net and clapper. The net is spread on a light bamboo frame in the shape of a truncated pyramid. The fisherman either sits in a boat or wades in the shallows, striking the water with a wooden clapper which frightens the fish into the net.

The fish called *Lien yü* (鰱魚), a species of tench used as an offering to the gods by persons desiring the happiness of having children, is reared in reservoirs, while the *Li yü* (鯉魚), or carp, is to be found in ornamental fish-ponds in the temple grounds, etc., together with numerous beautiful varieties of goldfish.

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SOME INCIDENTS IN CONFUCIUS' DAYS

BY

PROF. E. H. PARKER

IN B.C. 511 the Ruler of Lu (Confucius' state in Shantung) was still in exile at a spot in Tsin territory corresponding to part of modern Chih Li where the Yellow River then joined the River Chang, just west of his own dominions, whence he had had to fly several years earlier from a revolution in his own country.

The Ruler of Tsin, in his capacity of Tyrant of China, was on the point of reinstating the exiled duke with an armed force, but one of his ministers said: Would it not be well first to summon the head of the revolutionary party hither, and attack the malcontents only after he has proved that he is really disloyal to his prince? The consequence of this suggestion was that the Tsin government, assuring him of the safety of his person, summoned the revolutionary local "Protector," and sent a messenger to further reassure him privately. The "Protector" came and the interview took place at a convenient spot in Tsin territory; the Tsin minister thus began; "My august master has sent me to ask why, Sir, "you have driven out your prince. When any one fails in "duty to his ruling prince, the imperial house [to which both "Tsin and Lu were of course still nominally subject] has

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"definite punishments to meet each case and you ought to "think well on this." The offender, who wore a penitential hat and clothes, and walked with bare feet, threw himself at his interlocutor's feet and said, "I am not in a position to "serve my prince, as he is away; but I am here to accept the "decree of the law. If my prince holds that I am guilty, I "beg you to hold me prisoner in a certain Lu town [the "private seat of the revolutionary Ki family] until my prince "have time to make enquiry into the matter, and then let his "highness decide. Should he see fit, in consideration of the "past services of my family, to visit me alone with death, and "not to extinguish the whole of my kin, or should he spare "my life, and not even banish me, this will be his highness' "grace, and I shall never forget it, even in death; but if I am "enabled to accompany my prince back to his throne, I "should be only too pleased, and of course I harbour no "possible disloyal feeling."*

Accordingly the two repaired together to the frontier town where the fugitive prince was staying. His own minister in attendance said, "Your highness had better go back with him; "is it not better to bear with this single short humiliation, "rather than undergo a whole life's humiliation in exile?" The prince said, "Yes." But his suite of attendants said, "You have only to say the word, and Tsin will turn him out "for you."

The Tsin minister meanwhile tried his suasive influence on the timid prince of Lu, offering the condolences of his own august master, "who has instructed me to chastise the "revolutionary for you, nor has the said revolutionary any "intention of evading punishment: I think therefore your "highness should go back." The prince replied, "His grace "your master, in view of his and my ancestors' long friendship, "has been so good as to interest himself in poor me, and "desires me to return and cleanse my patrimony of pollutions, "so as to be able to serve him as usual; but I cannot bear to "look on that revolutionary man again, and may I perish if I "ever bring myself to do it."

* This was feeling how the land lay.

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On hearing this the Tsin minister stopped his ears and hastened away, saying, "My august master feared he might "be blamed [by the Emperor and other princes] for not "restoring this prince; but, as things now stand, it is "impossible to foretell the disasters in store for Lu. All I "can do is to report to my own prince" In doing so he took the opportunity to say to the revolutionary: "Your ruler's "wrath is not yet cooled; you had better go back alone and "resume temporary charge."

The Lu minister in attendance said to the exile: "If your "highness goes back without any armed escort to the Lu camp, "the revolutionary is certain to go with you." The prince was disposed to do so, but had to yield to the counter pressure of his suite.

A few months later the timorous prince died in exile.

Thus, in the year B.C. 510, Confucius' own prince, who had been in exile for several years on the Tsin frontier, under the protection of Tsin, having had to escape from the domineering influence of the usurping family of Ki, died in the place of his self-imposed captivity. This is how the story is told by the commentator of Confucius, who himself in his bare annals simply records, "In the 12th month the Duke died at Kan-hou":—

"In the 12th month the Duke was very sick, and began "to lavish all sorts of presents upon his ministers in attend- "ance, who, however, would not accept them under the "circumstances. He gave his chief minister [the one who "had tried to induce him to go back to his throne] a double "signet, a ring, a badge, and a fine suit of clothes, which "were accepted. On this the other courtiers also accepted "their gifts. A few days later the Duke died. His chief "minister on this returned the presents above enumerated to "the treasury keepers, saying, 'I could not presume to "question his highness' royal pleasure [when he gave them]'. "The minor ministers similarly returned their presents. "The book [meaning Confucius' original annals] simply says " 'The Duke died at Kan-hou,' meaning by implication that "he died at a place where he should not have died [instead "of in his own royal apartments]. One of the Tsin ministers

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"[the one who had tried to arrange a compromise for the "exiled ruler with the revolutionary "protector"] said, 'The "Ki clique have driven out their prince, and yet the people "are satisfied with the arrangement, and the other feudatories "acquiesce. The prince dies abroad, and no one seems to be "blamed.' The astrologer replied:—'Things go in pairs, or " 'triplets, or quinaries and have their satellites. Hence in " 'the sky we have sun, moon, stars; here below we have the " 'five elements;* our own bodies have right and left of " 'everything; thus each thing has its companion. The King " '[*i.e.* Emperor] has his dukes, the vassal princes have their " 'ministers, in each case there being a secondary ruler. " 'Heaven produced the Ki family as a second to the princes " 'of Lu, and this has lasted a long time. Is it not then " 'appropriate that the people should be satisfied with the " 'arrangement? The rulers of Lu have for generations in " 'succession failed in their duties. The Ki family has for " 'generations in succession worked with assiduity. The " 'people have forgotten their prince, and, even though he " 'has died abroad, who cares about him? The tutelary gods " 'of the state may be worshipped by one person as well as " 'by another, just as prince and minister may have or may " 'lose their posts; from ancient times this has been so. " 'Hence the Ode says:—

" 'The highest banks have their depression,
" 'The deepest valleys have their elevations.

" 'The clans of our first three [semi-mythical] dynasties are " 'now part of the ordinary population, as you know. The " 'Book of Changes has a passage [cited] to explain the way " 'of heaven in this case, and the history of the Ki family " '[given] descended from a younger branch of the ruling " 'family, shews how four dukes have successively by their " 'neglect handed over the *de facto* power.' "

In B. C. 500 Confucius, premier of Lu, accompanied his own prince to the neighbouring state of Ts'i, with which

* Dr. Casartelli, Bishop of Salford, has pointed out that the Indo-Persian religious philosophy also had the five elements, "Water, fire, earth, wood, and wind." For "wind" the Chinese substitute "metal."

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there had been war. A gallant officer of this last-named state, who had the year before shewn great bravery in assaulting a beleaguered town, made the following suggestions to his royal master:—

" Confucius understands the ceremonies, but he lacks bravery;
" if we cause the semi-barbarous prisoners we have taken
" [modern Lai-chou, annexed in B.C. 567] to kidnap the
" prince of Lu, we shall get the better of him. The prince
" of Ts'i acquiesced, but Confucius retired with his own
" prince, giving the order, 'Let the guards attack these men
" 'with arms. Our two princes are on excellent terms, and these
" 'foreign barbarian prisoners attempt to involve us by force
" 'of arms: this is not the way in which the Prince of Ts'i
" 'will establish his authority over the other vassals. It is
" 'not for foreigners to attack China; nor for barbarians
" 'to disturb China's peace; nor for prisoners to meddle with
" 'treaty negotiations; nor for arms to put pressure upon
" 'spontaneous good-feeling. Such action is inauspicious
" 'towards the gods [to whom we have to announce the
" 'treaty;] it is incompatible with the principles of right
" 'dealing; and from a social point of view it is discourteous.
" 'I cannot believe this is the prince's own doing.' When
" the prince of Ts'i heard these words, he instantly ordered
" the Lai barbarians to withdraw. Just as the treaty was
" being concluded, the Ts'i ministers added the following
" clause to the text: 'Should your Ts'i armies ever march
" 'outside of your own dominions, may we be cursed if we,
" 'Lu, do not support you with 300 chariots of cuirassiers [*i.e.*
" '22,500 men.]' Confucius sent one of the Lu ministers back
" with the following counter-stipulation: 'If you Ts'i do not
" 'return the territory you took from us, our acceptance of
" 'your behest will stand on the same basis' [*i.e.* we shall
" decline.]

" After this the Ts'i prince wished to entertain his royal
" colleague of Lu, but Confucius [who scented treachery] said
" to one of the proposed hosts:—'You must well know the
" 'precedents governing the relations between our two states:
" 'the object of our meeting having been achieved, it is
" 'putting you to useless trouble for us to accept a formal

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" 'banquet. Besides, the emblematic drinking cups should
" 'never assemble in the open. Moreover, whilst a full-dress
" 'banquet would be out of place, an undress one would look
" 'downright shabby. To be shabby would be for the
" 'respective princes to lose in dignity; to be ceremonially
" 'out of place would be for them to leave behind a bad
" 'repute. You should well consider all this, Sir. A formal
" 'banquet is intended to exhibit the ruler's virtue. If
" 'there is none to be exhibited, better go without it
" 'altogether.'

"As a result there was no banquet, but the Ts'i
" government restored to us the territory taken the previous
" year."

In the summer of B.C. 492 there was a fire in the Lu metropolis, the princes' palace escaped, but two of the deceased rulers' shrines were involved in the conflagration. The rescuers all shouted, "See to the things in the treasury." But Nan-kung King-shuh, coming up just then, ordered the keepers of the Chou archives to get out the royal books [presented by the Imperial Court to the Princes of Lu] and to await further orders at the palace, adding, "Do your duty; those who are not on the spot are liable to the penalty of death."

Another high officer, coming up, ordered the clerks of the ministry to save the books on ceremonial, and await the sequel, any want of respect to be punished by the ordinary law; the ostlers were commanded to bring out the horses four by four, and the coachmen to grease the axles [to secure speed]; all officials to stand to their posts; stores and treasuries to be guarded; all *employés* to stand at attention; to use wet blankets, etc. wherever sign of smoke, and drape the prince's residence with the same, beginning with the chief temple of state, proceeding onwards according to the importance of each building, and to render assistance where needed. Any disobedience to be punished by law without mercy. Orders were next given to the stablemen to harness the prince's carriage, and Ki-kwan-tze attended the prince outside the palace gate. The firemen were ordered to cease operations the moment

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there was danger to human life, as mere valuables could always be replaced. Orders were given to place the gate book in a place of safety [*i.e.* the book of new rules exposed to public view at the palace gate in the 1st month of every year] on the ground that "it will not do for the old regulations to perish." Then the order was given "You might "as well try to pick up spilt liquid as to expect the officials to "deal with cases where no reasonable precautions have been "taken," and accordingly all wood-work in the direction of the wind was cleared away; a clear space was thus made around the prince's palace.

Confucius was in the state of Ch'ên [having left his own state in disgust and taken to a peripatetic life], and hearing there of the fire he said, "So those were the two "princes!" [whose temples were destroyed; meaning that it was the chastisement of Heaven].

The above story is interesting because Nan-kung King-shuh is the person recorded in other works to have accompanied Confucius on his visit to Lao-tsz, Keeper of the imperial Chou archives; also because the Chou archives and the Chou Book of Rites are here specially mentioned, together with special librarians, and it was on the question of rites that Confucius went to consult Lao-tsz. In the year B.C. 489 it is specifically mentioned in Confucius' expanded annals that the King of Ts'u (Yang-tsz Valley) sent a messenger to the imperial capital to consult the astrologer of Chou about a portent. Again the mention of annual regulations or procedures, and of temples, illustrates the undoubted fact that government, law, and religion were still regarded as inseparable parts of the one system of themistes: written law, as written dogma, being considered undesirable; the imperial rites, or statutes governing relations between prince and subject, father and family, being the only public law.

It was during the life-time of conservative Confucius, who, like his socialist *confrère* Lao-tsz, was no religious apostle but only the head of a school of thought, that all the rival

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schools were developed,—the legists or patrons of written law, the "Epicureans," the "Draconians," and so on. It is still more remarkable that in India, Persia, Greece, &c., similar intellectual developments were going and doubtless exchanges of thought imperceptibly filtered their way through in all directions, just as in later times, inoculation, gunpowder, the compass, printing, tobacco, and other novelties gradually spread forwards and backwards without leaving clear tracks behind.

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A TRIP UP THE YANG-TZE KIANG

I.

It was at the comfortable Club, one night after dinner, that my fellow wanderer first said he was satiated with the charms of Shanghai. He said we had driven so frequently along the roads to the Bubbling Well and the Point that he knew every stone on them; we had watched the gee-gees being prepared for their autumn engagements so persistently that the trainers were looking on us with suspicious eyes; we had indulged in violent exercise at the cricket ground and loafed at the Club; been charmed by the band and thoroughly disgusted by a visit to an opium den; so now he suggested fresh fields and pastures new. "Where?" I asked; "Peking?" The road between Tientsin and there was still flooded in several places. Then a nice new friend of ours came to the rescue and suggested the Yang-tze Gorges. He had not been there, and did not personally know anyone who had, but was certain they existed, and that the first stage was by river steamer to Hankow. This was evidently the place for our money,—virgin soil as yet untrodden by the vandal tourist. The next day we find out that the China Merchants' steamer the *Kiang-kwan* sails for Hankow early on September 15, so we take passage by her. She is built after the model of the American river steamers, and is comfortably fitted, so we are sure of a pleasant trip for the first part of the journey.

At 2 a.m. on Sunday the 15th we leave Shanghai. Coming on deck after breakfast one sees nothing but flat

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uninteresting country for hours till the Kiang-yin fort and floating battery, erected in case the French called in 1886, are reached. Beaver Island, a long, flat strip of land in the middle of the river is passed about 5 p.m., and four hours later we are opposite Silver Island. This is a small cone-shaped island, beautifully wooded; with the mainland it forms a narrow passage; there are forts on both sides, and two guns, saying "Pass, friend" allow us to go through, when the lights of Chinkiang, the first treaty port, appear. Half an hour later we are alongside the hulk there, but our stay is to be very short, so we are unable to go ashore and visit the scenes of the riots of last February. On leaving, Golden Island, a larger island with a summer palace is passed. The next morning we are awakened at five o'clock by the steamer going alongside the hulk at Nanking; of the city and walls only parts are visible, as it is situated some five miles away. It is said to be one of the cleanest of Chinese cities; the streets are wide, well-kept and comparatively clean; but the glory of the place has departed—not a vestige of the famous porcelain tower is to be seen, and the porcelain factories are all destroyed. Some fine velvet for the imperial household is made here, and pieces can occasionally be obtained by the 'foreigner.' The large tombs of the Ming dynasty are situated some miles outside the city walls, but the steamer never stays long enough to allow a visit to be paid them, and as there are no hotels the only way would be to stop at the house of one of the foreign Missions.

Later in the day is seen Missionary Hill, a headland on which are situated some fine buildings of the American Missionary Society, and on rounding it the town of Wuhu comes in view. This is the second of the river treaty-ports, and although only a small place it is important as the shipping port for the surrounding large rice districts. Early the next morning Ganking is seen, with its large pagoda on the outskirts of the town; we pass within 300 yards of it and go alongside the hulk, but as we are told the place offers no attractions whatever we do not go ashore.

On the port side, after leaving here, are some well covered hills running down to the water's edge, and in the

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background a range of fiue mountains, in the valleys of which pheasants, deer and wild pig abound. The Little Orphan, a rock rising some 300 feet right out of the water, claims the attention next; half-way up is a monastery, and on the summit the usual joss house. A couple of hours later the walled town of Hu-kan is reached, with the approach well guarded by batteries. On a headland to the right of the town is a fine old monastery, and beyond is seen the exit of Po-yang Lake, with the Great Orphan, a large rock rising out of its blue waters. Kiu-kiang, the third port, is reached at four in the afternoon, and we go ashore. There is a nice little well shaded bund in the foreign concession, and the tall chimneys of several factories for compressing tea give the place quite an air of commercial importance. In the native town are numerous shops for the sale of porcelain from the famous King-te chen factories, and also a few jewellers who turn out some very pretty beaten silver ware and little silver ornaments of quaint design.

From here a couple of stoppages are made during the night at ferry stations for passengers, but nothing of note occurs till the next morning after breakfast, when the factory chimneys of Hankow appear, and soon after we are alongside the hulk. On going ashore, the Agent tells us that the steamer to take us on to I-chang, the second stage of our journey, will not sail for five days, so that we have to kill time by examining Hankow and its vicinity.

On the opposite side of the river is the large military city of Wu-chang, walled and strongly fortified; in it is a large Examination Hall capable of holding 8,000 candidates, each of whom has his separate box of about four feet square. As the examinations are going on at present, and as the erratic and fanatic students have a great tendency, during the intervals between papers, to pelt 'foreign devils' with stones, we abstain from visiting the place. A few missionaries reside in the town.

Hankow, the fourth treaty-port, is a great tea mart; the foreign concession is well laid out, with good, wide streets, a very pretty bund, and many imposing buildings looking on to the river. Several of the big Shanghai houses have branches

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here, but not much is done except during the tea season, May and June, which is a period of great commercial activity, as many as twenty steamers of 2,000 to 3,000 tons lying in the river loading tea. The Russians form a large proportion of the community of 150 foreigners in the settlement; they buy the best and the worst tea in the market: the best goes off at once to Russia for aristocratic consumers; the inferior quality, siftings, tea-dust, etc., is compressed into cakes resembling ordinary bricks except for their black colour, and then sent off to Russia to form the beverage of the poorer classes. There are several factories engaged in compressing, and their tall chimneys, mentioned above, give the first evidence of the whereabouts of Hankow.

Just beyond the American Consulate is the Club, with racquet court, bowling and tennis lawns and library; and a short distance out, towards the city wall, is a pretty little race-course with grand stand and offices complete.

Velvet is another article for which the town is celebrated; anybody fortunate enough to possess lady friends can secure them a most suitable present. The porcelain sold here is very coarse and badly decorated. By the kind attentiveness of the American vice-consul we are enabled to see the Shansi Guild, the great Club of the Chinese tea merchants:—our ideas of what a Club should be differs considerably from theirs, so we refrain from any comments.

The good ship *Kiang-kwan* returns to Shanghai shortly, so we transfer ourselves to the *Kiang-tung*, the boat which is to take us up as far as I-chang. On Monday, September 23, we receive documents with a wild array of signs and seals on them, which our consul states are passports authorizing us to travel in the interior of China; we also secure the services of Ah Chee, an elderly native of sad countenance, who, for a consideration, agrees to serve us as guide, philosopher and cook for the portion of our trip beyond I-chang.

II.

At 5 a.m. the next day we hear the welcome sound of the screw revolving, and are at last fairly off for I-chang. Arriving on deck, we see the country is inundated for miles

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round; the water instead of falling rapidly as usual at this time of the year has been rising steadily, owing to the late heavy rains. All along the route are seen villages partially submerged, the inhabitants living in junks moored a few yards away from the house-tops. These groups of junks look most picturesque, covered with their owners' penates, which are all out to dry on this fine day.

The only place of any importance passed is the town of Sing-ti; having been built too near the river all its streets are converted into canals, and ground floor apartments are at a considerable discount. The night turns out very dark, and the whole appearance of the country is so altered by the floods that the captain decides to anchor about eight o'clock. Next morning an early start is made and we get on deck a couple of hours after in time to find to see where the big Tung-t'ing lake sends its clear blue stream to join the muddy Yangtze. The river now commences a series of S curves, and throughout the day we can frequently see points passed by us three or four hours earlier. Shang chuang is the name of a large town reached early in the afternoon, and then comes an endless succession of villages half under water, and innumerable joss houses in groves of fine trees, till, a little after seven, we again anchor for the night. One cannot help admiring the intense love of country and home implanted in the Chinaman, which makes him return to this land of floods and bamboo-whackings, from a life of comparative safety and luxury in America and Australia.

At day-light next morning another start is made, and soon the town of Tian-kwan is reached, where we stay to drop a few Chinese passengers; then advantage is taken of a short cut which saves some six knots, and we get into the reach pathetically named by Blakiston, Last Bottle Reach. Another cut two hours later saves some fifteen knots and brings us out opposite Sunday Island in the main channel again. The river now ceases its tortuous style, and a fine stretch of water leads up to the town Ho-han; from this place a series of magnificent 'bits of straight' bring us to the town of Sha-si at seven in the evening. For some two miles before reaching the town we pass a fleet of large cargo junks

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lying five or six deep along the right bank: these testify to the importance and trade of the place, which should have been the treaty-port instead of I-chang.

Anyone longing for a row can soon be accommodated by landing here; the populace have hitherto successfully mobbed any foreigners who have gone ashore.

We anchor for the night and leaving early next morning pass in rapid succession the town of Kiang-kan and Spring and Hope Islands; then a fine pagoda is seen and three watch-towers, mementos of the Tai-ping rebellion, then the town of Chi-kiang is near. Above this the surrounding country is very fine, and range after range of well wooded hills shut us in on both sides; with the lake expanse of flooded river in addition it reminded us forcibly of New Zealand Lake scenery.

The next place of note is the walled city of I-tu, and a couple of hours' run from that brings us to Tiger's Teeth Gorge; a small one only, and the first on the river, with a pretty, natural arch in a huge rock; and then I-chang can be made out in the distance right ahead. Shortly beyond this, on the starboard is a handsome pagoda in a good state of repair; and on the port side is a beautiful valley, at the head of which stands a mountain peak, some 1300 feet high with a monastery perched on the very summit; and soon afterwards we are opposite the city of I-chang.

As the *Kiang-tung* remains here about three days, we stay on board: this is convenient, as I-chang does not support an hotel. The following morning we go ashore to see Her Majesty's representative, and landing at the Customs steps, after a few minutes' walk through a filthy, dirty lane, come to the consular residence. It is not an imposing-looking building, nor are its surroundings elegant, but the reception one meets with inside compensates. The consul is most attentive and anxious to give every assistance in his power, and when we have stated our plans he sends a reliable man to find a boat to take us through the Gorges and rapids as far as Wu-shan. We then start to see the town; it is a mean, poor-looking place, and competent authorities state it to be all it looks. There is not much society, as the

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European residents number a dozen; the only lady there is the wife of a missionary; so at present they have just one clique.* A walk round the city wall does not give any extended view of the river, but merely conveys what a dirty Chinese town might be,—the consul says this is a clean one. During the month of September it has rained already 21 days, so perhaps the place is not looking its best. During the afternoon Captain Jankowsky of the *Kiang-tung* shows us his collection of butterflies and beetles; for variety, richness and brilliancy of hues we have never seen their equal in any part of the world. He tells us they are chiefly the result of excursions in the neighbourhood during his stay here, and that the surrounding country is a vast field for both scientist and sportsman. Reeves' and other varieties of pheasant, together with large game,† are plentiful; and some of the botanical specimens sent home gladdened the heart of Kew.

The consul's boy has found the proprietor of a boat willing to take us, and we go to inspect the vessel; as it seems a comfortable craft and the owner only a moderate scoundrel in appearance, we arrange to have it brought alongside the *Kiang-tung* the next day for provisioning, etc. It turns out a wet morning, and the boat owner does not appear, but comes down early the day after.

And now to describe our home for the next ten days. The boat is about 60 feet long and 10 wide, with a square bow and turned-up stern; she has one mast, used chiefly as a towing pole, and a ragged sail. In front, for 26 feet her deck is uncovered, which space the crew occupy; the rest is covered by a wooden house some six feet high. The lao-pan's (captain's) quarters are right aft over the rudder; ours in the centre, 27 feet long, are divided by sliding wooden panels into three rooms, so that we have a bedroom each and use the outermost compartment for a sitting-room. Through Captain

* We know a treaty-port in China where there are twelve European ladies and five cliques. There, one is never in want of a subject for discussion.

† A recent publication by a Shanghai resident gives a thrilling account of an adventure with a leopard.

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Jankowsky's kindness and his attentive steward, we are fitted out with all necessaries,—in fact some of the items might be classed as luxuries.

Lao-pan presents us with a huge red paper covered with hieroglyphics, which Ah Chee states is the contract, with the names of his securities; so we go to the British consul who sees it is in order, and we pay our first of three instalments, others to be paid on reaching Wu-shan and on returning here. Lao-pan promises to engage a No. 1 crew and to buy provisions in the afternoon so as to be ready for an early start the next day. However, the following day it is one o'clock before he gets together the full complement of 25 villains who are serve as crew and trackers, and then at last we are off for the Gorges.

III.

We are partly tracked and poled up for some three miles past the long row of boats in the creek, the rate of progress being a mile an hour; then lao-pan makes fast for the night. vowing the current is too strong for us to proçeed. He gets away at seven the next morning, but it is pelting with rain and the towpath is often a foot under water. The little village of San-yu-fung is reached at 9 o'clock, but the tow-path is now on the opposite side of the river, and from the mouth of the gorge, only about 300 yards wide, such a tremendous eddying volume of water rushes that lao-pan does not care to try crossing, so makes fast beneath the little bridge over the creek. In the middle of the village a long flight of stone steps leads up the hill, on the top of which a path, turning off to the right, brings us to a cave utilized as a Buddhist temple. The creek is navigable by sampan for about half a mile; its sides mounting straight up, covered with ferns, creepers and bamboo clusters of the brightest green, help to form a really lovely picture with the clear blue waters at their base.

The following morning turns out beautifully fine, but as the river has risen some two feet in the night, all hope of crossing to-day is at an end. As some compensation we discover a most convenient bathing place a quarter-mile up

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the creek. All yesterday the weather was so bad and the mountains so covered with heavy rain clouds that we could get no idea of the gorge; but this morning we go on up the hill beyond the turning to the temple and come on a glorious view. The rocky sides rise straight from the water to heights of 400 to 1,000 feet, their summits assuming an endless variety of form; between runs the swift current, foaming and bright near us, but dark and gloomy higher up where it seems to issue from the base of the mountains; a background of lofty peaks, partly shrouded in clouds, and a glorious blue sky complete a grand picture of natural scenery.

Ah Chee accounts for the fine weather by the sacrifice of one of our fowls last night: in his own vernacular, Lao-pan makee chin-chin him joss, lendee one fowl. By the next morning the water has fallen considerably, but lao-pan still thinks it unsafe to try crossing. Hitherto we have been a fixed source of entertainment to the villagers, old men and maidens, young men and children turning up in crowds, especially at meal times; but to-day they kindly amuse us. Out of one of the numerous fan-tan houses two individuals came, gesticulating at one another in a threatening way; nice, kind friends however intervened just as they were coming to blows. In China, spectators are generally cheated in this manner. Shortly after, two lads began wrestling on the bridge, and as their little, angry passions rose, they pummelled one another splendidly until separated by two elderly females, evidently their mothers; who, having smacked their respective offspring, engaged in an animated word-competition. Unfortunately we do not understand the niceties of the Chinese language; but the remarks made by those ladies were very tasty, judging by the laughter and applause of the onlookers. On going for a walk before dinner we came upon a dog-fight. The most objectionable village dog, a brindled one, had taken on a mild-looking black dog out of a junk just arrived. I am glad to relate he was horribly mauled by the stranger, so perhaps we may be barked at less when going ashore now.

The next day lao-pan makes an attempt to get across, and for a short while we have a gay time among the young

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whirlpools, but eventually the tow-path on the opposite side is gained without mishap, and we are in I-chang Gorge. Twenty men in various degrees of undress scramble ashore and tow us up at the end of a long, plaited, bamboo line of about 3-inches circumference; this is said to be stronger and more lasting than an ordinary hemp rope of twice the thickness which the sharp pointed rocks soon fray to pieces.

With á 4-knot current against us and the tow-path very wet and slippery, our progress is very slow, and we only reach Ping-shan-pa that night. This is a native Customs station about three and a half miles up the Gorge, and we are boarded by a slimy-looking individual to overhaul the boat for "contrabandista." Nothing is found for him to squeeze on, and we proceed next morning about a mile further and then have to bring up in company with several junks, at K'antze Point. There is a tremendous rush of water round here, and two junks in trying to get round yesterday had their ropes smashed and were whirled down stream, narrowly escaping two large whirlpools in mid stream. The water falls in the night, and two large junks get round the point safely during the morning; so we make lao-pan attempt it much against his will, consequently at the critical moment there is some six fathoms of tow-rope lying slack in the water, and the trackers hauling in a lazy, lubberly fashion at it; the boat's head is caught and swept round by the current, thus breaking the tow-rope, and we are whirled down stream by a 6-knot current. The men on board manage with the big bow-sweep to keep us clear of whirlpools and bring us up opposite Ping-shan-pa, and the trackers, following down along the path, get us up again to the starting point. But as lao-pan does not care to try again we do not press the matter. One of these experiences is sufficiently exhilarating for one afternoon.

At a mass meeting of lao-pans the next morning it is decided to be unsafe to try the point,—the water has risen during the night; so the trackers have a holiday, which they employ in the intervals of feeding, by opium smoking and vermin hunting on one another. In the course of the day a small junk, trying the Point, is washed down and goes to

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pieces on some rocks just above Ping-shan-pa. The water has fallen three feet during the night, so next day lao-pan consents to try again, having arranged with the lao-pan of a large junk to combine trackers; and bringing the boat up this time more like a sailor than a tailor, he gets round safely. One method of procedure in some parts is to send the sampan ahead to make fast our rope to holes cut for the purpose in a rock, and then haul the boat up to it. In others, where the tow-path can be used, the double set of trackers, about 40, lay on to the rope and haul first one boat up and then the other. The pace is consequently about a mile an hour, but the tediun is relieved, once by our rope breaking, and shortly after, through some leather-headedness of our lao-pan, by the hawsers being cast off before the trackers have us in hand. Fortunately in both cases the crew get the boat round after drifting back for a couple of hundred yards only. Late in the afternoon, when our consort was being towed through a rapid part, her rope snapped, and away she went down stream, being too large and unwieldy for her crew to turn or stop her. Having just negotiated that place safely by the aid of her trackers we sympathized deeply in seeing her whirled down to Ping-shan-pa again. As they have been waiting there for the last three weeks for slack water, the place won't seem at all strange to them to-night.

About here the Gorge alters its direction from west-by-north to almost due north, and soon the lao-pan stops for the night. The fates seem anxious now to compensate us for the delays and bad weather up to date; for, having granted us a sunny day with cloudless skies, they give us also a perfect moonlight night. The scene from our cabin windows I have neither the ability nor the wish to describe; perhaps in these days of abundant and carelessly-used superlatives it is best left alone. The true beauty and grandeur of the river should be seen to be appreciated, for the pen of a Sala and the brush of a Turner would hardly do it justice.

Our progress next day is continued at the same rate, and we soon come to a huge mass of rock, quite separate from its fellows and towering up for some 1,800 feet; this is called the Needle of Heaven, and marks the end of the I-chang Gorge.

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The extended view now and the more daylight are very welcome after being so shut in for four days by those huge, dark walls of rock. On the left, about a mile away, is a conspicuous wall of limestone cliffs rearing a bold front of 3,000 feet; on the right are some fair-sized hills with an occasional cluster of cottages. Having done four miles from the Needle we come to a stop, and as the moon is at the full to-night we enjoy for some hours after dinner the grand scenic effects.

Soon after leaving on the next morning we come to a young rapid which proves very troublesome. Twice our tow-rope snaps, but the men manage to hold her. Two miles further up is the first Rapid (Blakiston), but the water is so high as to completely cover the rocks which cause the Rapid; so, hugging the shore, we slip up comfortably and reach the village of Hwang-ling-pu. Here lao-pan lays in a stock of thick ropes and hires extra hands to get us round a trouble-some point half a mile beyond. It takes an hour to get round, and then Shan-tou-pien village and Rapid can be seen. Here also, on account of the high water we are able to get well inshore of the Rapid and are not knocked about much. The village offers no attractions, so we pass on to Mao-ping, the boundary between I-chang and Kwei-chou districts, marked by a pile of masonry on each side of the river. Lao-pan wishes to stay here for the night and give the trackers a good rest before attempting the formidable Ta-tung Rapid, which is a mile and a half ahead. We reach there at eight the next morning; on both banks are clusters of a few houses, and in the centre of the river, spreading to the south shore, is as nasty a piece of broken water as one would wish to see. Lao-pan goes ashore to hire extra trackers, so we accompany him, and get a good photo of the Rapid. He beats up every male inhabitant, from seven to seventy years of age, to help in towing us; having arranged with these he goes aboard for his wife and children, and earns our undying respect and admiration by remaining ashore, squatted comfortably among them. Fortunately the second in command is a very able man, and usually looks after the vessel; he brings us safely through, in spite of shouting and giving orders by all our fifty

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new trackers. The towpath is now on the north bank of the river again, and as it is in good order the trackers take us along at a good pace. In trying a short cut the boat takes the ground, and an hour is wasted in getting her off, thus effectually spoiling our chance of getting through the Niu-kan Gorge this evening. However, we reach Lao-kwan, a small village at the entrance, and manage to get a couple of good photographs before the light fails.

IV.

Here unfortunately our trip must end. The *Kiang-tung* sails from I-chang early next Monday morning, and we are only allowing ourselves one day to return the distance it has taken ten days to come.

Our lao-pan's face flatters him. I have said previously he looked only a moderate scoundrel: I wish now to correct that statement and affirm that, even for a Chinese, he is an exaggerated one. Having ascertained from the boys his compatriots on the *Kiang-tung* that we had to return by her, he has not made the slightest effort to reach Wu-shan, the place he was paid to go to; the fewer extra rapids reached, the fewer extra trackers hired; every stage advanced has been gained only by dire threats of consular displeasure at I-chang. For the No. 1 crew he promised to hire he secured four boys who, though willing enough, had neither the strength nor the weight to be useful; the rest, with three exceptions, are a set parcel of old, opium-dried vagabonds, the riff-raff of I-chang, hired merely for their food and their share of the customary drink-money at the end of the voyage, men whom no junk-owner with a grain of self-respect would employ; they could not pull if they would, and would not if they could. Of the ten large cargo junks in company with us at K'an-tze Point, all except the one already alluded to have passed us; though larger and deeply laden their rate of progress has far exceeded ours. I shall not bring our fraud into undue prominence by mentioning his name, but shall take steps to prevent his having another such opportunity of swindling.

Never before has the saying, "Time and tide wait for no man" come home more forcibly to me; previous arrangements

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force us to return to-morrow though just at the entrance to a photographers' paradise and the happy hunting ground of the naturalist. At five the next morning lao-pan leaves, and with the good current in our favour the rate of downward progress is excellent; the crew are pulling five oars a side, standing, facing the bow; we go dashing through the rapids and cover eight miles in the first hour. After this the current is not so strong, and we have full opportunity of admiring the views down the I-chang Gorge. Rounding Mussulman Point the boat gets into a whirlpool and is swung round smartly three times; this is a decidedly novel experience, but the boatmen extricate her before it becomes unpleasant. Fifteen minutes later the Pyramid opposite I-chang comes in view, then the *Kiang-tung* is seen, and by 10 o'clock we are on board of her, having come down the whole way in seven hours.

The first piece of news told us that she will be detained till Wednesday morning! So that we could have continued our trip for another two days. The second is that the peace and harmony hitherto existing in the European community at I-chang has been rudely disturbed by some Philistine who has brought various eccentricities of one of the members under vulgar gaze through the medium of the Shanghai press. This is very regrettable: no person or subject seems sacred now-a-days. However, on Wednesday we leave and go humming down the stream at the rate of 15 miles an hour. The country all bears evidence of the heavy rains experienced by us up in the Gorges. Twenty-five hours steaming brings us back once more to Hankow. Here the river has played sad havoc: there is two feet of water on the Bund, nearly all the large houses facing the river have their ground floors flooded, and traffic has to be carried on entirely by sampan; so we hire one in which to go round and pay our adieux.

At the British consulate is a new representative of Her Gracious Majesty; his courteous ways, tempered with a genial bonhomie must eventually endear him to all fortunate enough to come in contact with him. Getting up to the Club is a difficult job, as our craft draws too much water; but we arrive at last and find the members in full force.

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After saying goodbye to cheery friends there we return; the long streets of water recall Venice and its canals; and we speculate as to how many more bambooings it would take to complete the illusion by transforming the dirty Chinese boatmen into the gay gondolier.

One of Butterfield's boats, the *Gankin*, leaves for Shanghai, so we go on board and secure berths. She is a large, elegantly-fitted boat, and after dinner, seated in comfortable easy-chairs in the saloon, both time and distance have so mellowed the enormities of the weather clerk and the lao-pan that we can relate the whole trip calmly and veraciously to the pleasant captain.

The rattling of the chains at 4 a.m. lets us know we are leaving the hulk and off for Shanghai.

[A page of the manuscript is missing here; and the remainder of the article is mainly taken up with good advice to future tourists to the Gorges of little use in these changed days, and therefore not reproduced here.—Ed. *N. C. Review.*]

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NOTE ON THE INVENTION OF WOODCUTS

BY

ARTHUR WALEY

EUROPEAN writers have commonly asserted that the Chinese art of printing from wood-blocks dates from the end of the 6th century A.D. Thus Prof. Douglas writes, in his *Guide to the Chinese and Japanese Illustrated Books*, (1887), "History tells us that the art of printing from wooden blocks was invented in China in the 6th century, and that in 593 A.D. the Emperor Wăn-ti ordered the various texts that were in circulation to be collected and engraved on wood, for the purpose of being printed and published."

Sir Ernest Satow (*Trans. of As. Soc. of Japan*, X, pt. 1, p. 48), says "The founder of the Sui dynasty is said to have had the remains of the Classical books engraved in wood"; and Anderson (*Japanese Wood Engravings*, p. 19), "It has long been known that printing from engraved blocks was employed in China at least as early as the 6th century."

It is possible that all these statements are founded on a passage in a pamphlet published by Julien in 1850, entitled *L'Imprimerie en Chine au sixième siècle de notre ère*. On p. 2 Julien gives the following extract from the *Khe-tchi-king-youen* (in English transliteration, *Ko Chih Ching Yüan*):

"Le huitième jour du douzième mois de la treizième annee

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du règne des Soui (l'an 593 de J.C.) il fut ordonné, par un décret, de recueiller tous les dessins usés et les textes inédits et de les graver sur bois, pour les publier. Ce fut là, ajoute l'ouvrage que nous citons, le commencement de l'imprimerie sur planches de bois; l'on voit qu'elle a précédé de beaucoup l'époque de Fong-ing-wang ou Fong tao, à qui l'on attribue cette invention, vers l'an 932."

The original of the above passage (*Ko Chih Ching Yüan* 格致鏡原 xxxix, f. 2r°) runs as follows: 隋深燕閒錄。隋文帝開皇十三年十二月八日敕廢像遺經悉令雕撰。此印書之始。又在馮瀛王先矣。

"Lu Shên [1477-1544 A.D.; Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 1427] in his Yen Hsien Lu says, 'On the 8th day of the 12th month of 13th year of K'ai Huang, the Emperor Wên-ti of the Sui dynasty ordered all worn-out images and surviving Classics or Sūtras to be carved and collected.' This was the beginning of book-printing, and was indeed anterior to Fêng Ying Wang" [*i.e.* Fêng Tao 道, 881-954 A.D.; Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 573].

It would be interesting to know whence Lu Shên, writing c. 1500, derived his very precise information. The standard histories seem to contain no allusions to this event. But it is not at all certain that his inference ('this was the beginning of book-printing,' etc.) is justified by the text as he quotes it.

As 雕 'to carve' and 撰 'to collect' or 'to put together materials for a work' are dissimilar terms, it seems necessary (and such constructions are common in Chinese) to take the first as referring to the 'images' and the second as referring to the 'Classics,' *i.e.*, 'worn-out images to be (re-)carved and Classics to be collected.' Julien's translation completely distorts the sense of the original, for 撰 certainly does not mean 'publier' nor does 印書 mean 'l'imprimerie sur planches de bois,' but simply 'imprinting books.'

The term 雕 does not necessarily imply that wood is the material used, for in the *Li Chi* (禮記) III, 3, 14 we read 南方曰蠻雕題. which Couvreur translates 'Les habitants du midi, appelés Man, se tatouaient le front.'

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The meaning of hsiang 像 in this connection is illustrated by a passage referring to the same Emperor Wên-ti. In the 20th year of K'ai Huang, says the Mirror of History (通鑑), the destruction of images, whether of Buddha, the Heavenly Honoured Ones,* or of spirits, was forbidden (禁毀佛天尊及神像). The commentator on this passage says 所謂像者非畫摹塑則雕剡耳 'The term image does not refer to paintings or figures modelled in clay, but only to carvings.' Julien's 'dessin' is clearly wrong.

Since, as the above passage suggests, Wên-ti was a protector of Buddhism and Taoism, it is probable that the images which he caused to be carved were those of Buddhist or Taoist divinities, and that the *ching* which he collected were Buddhist Sŭtras or books of the Taoist canon.

This passage from Lu Shên, mistranslated by Julien and indirectly quoted by subsequent writers, is certainly very poor evidence that wood-block printing existed in the 6th century. Yet it seems that beyond this isolated passage no other evidence exists.

But another sentence, not previously noticed or translated, seems to have a much more certain bearing on the subject. It occurs in the Preface to Liu P'in's *House Instructions* (柳玭家訓序), and will be found quoted on the same page of the *Ko Chih Ching Yüan* as the extract from Lu Shên: "Once when I was in Ssŭch'uan, I examined in a bookshop a school-book printed from wood blocks 印板小學書."†

Liu P'in flourished c. 870-890 A.D. There does not seem to be any doubt that 印板書 means 'a book printed from wood-blocks.'

This passage, then, would seem to be the earliest indubitable literary reference to the invention.

Liu P'in, writing c. 880, appears to speak of printing as a novelty. It is remarkable that it was in Ssŭch'uan and not at the capital (Ch'ang-an) that he saw this early printed book. Possibly the art travelled with Buddhism from the West.

* Title of the highest order of Taoist divinities.

† The famous work on moral philosophy by Chu Hsi 朱熹 cannot of course be meant.

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The province of Ssŭch'uan was later noted for its book-production, and in the 15th century stood second only to Hangchow. *

The earliest Chinese woodcut known to exist is dated 868. This is the Diamond Sŭtra, with frontispiece, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Tun-huang, and now in the British Museum. †

The only earlier woodcuts in existence are the dhāraṇī charms from the Mu-ku Jo-ko Kyo 無垢淨光經 (*Vimala Nirbhasa Sūtra*) distributed by the Empress Shōtoku 稱德 in 764 A.D., three of which were presented by Sir Ernest Satow to the British Museum. It is probable that an art which existed in Japan in the 8th century must also have been practised in China at the same date.

But there is no valid evidence that this art was known in the 7th century, still less that (as asserted in many European works) it was invented in the 6th.

* *Ko Chih Ching Yüan*, XXXIX, 2 v°.

† Binyon, *Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Woodcuts*, p, 576, No. 1.

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CHINESE LIFE ON THE TIBETAN FOOTHILLS

BY

THE REV. J. HUTSON

CHAPTER IV

DEATHS 喪禮

WHEN a person seems just about to die a few bundles of cash-paper are burned at his side; two candles and some incense are also burned. The dying person is sometimes moved from the bed and laid on the ground, but it is more lucky to die in bed. The superstitious, however, will not afterwards use the bed where one has died, for fear of the demons. Children of the dying kneel at the bedside while the spirit takes its departure. Rice is thrown about the house to drive away demons, if by any means the life may still be saved.

As soon as life is gone a tablet is set up. On its front is written the name of the dead, and on the back the dates of birth and death, with the characters for the five elements, gold, wood, fire, water and earth.

Beside the tablet, to call the spirit to enter it, a yellow paper flag is set up bearing the characters meaning, "To the goddess of mercy who saves from suffering."

If the corpse does not stiffen or does not close its eyes there is fear that more deaths in the family will soon follow.

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Soon after death the evil influences of the dead are let out from the house *ch'u ssŭ hsing* or *sha* 出死星 or 煞, by poking a stick or bamboo pole through the roof; a person inside calls, "Has it come out?" and one outside replies, "It has come out." Then the stick is pushed through the hole onto the roof, and no one will touch it again if he knows it has been used for this purpose.

Before death the bed-curtains are removed, that the spirit may have easy exit. After death the body is laid on the ground or on the coffin-lid to cool.

In the case of the aged, one envelope full of paper money for each year the deceased has lived is burned in the central room. While this is done the corpse is bound in a chair, and an umbrella held over its head; women wave peach and willow branches toward heaven, and others flourish knives toward the earth, lest hungry ghosts should come and rob the dead of his travelling money.

The ashes of this paper imitation money are gathered and put into a jar, to be buried with the body, either in the coffin or beside it. The idea is that as soon as the spirit is free it is in need of cash to secure its passage through the various courts of Hades.

Five garments of each kind, suitable for all seasons of the year, are often put on the corpse. The shoes are made with cloth or grass soles, no leather being allowed. The coverlet is often very expensive. The pillow is filled with sawdust, cedar branches, or wood ashes.

In wealthy families the whole body is bound in a single piece of white cloth or silk, each finger, toe and limb being bound up by itself. Only the napkin for the head is separate. After this, or, in poor families, after the corpse has been washed and shaved, it is dressed. No outsiders are allowed to see these operations.

In ancient times it was believed that a precious stone held in the mouth 含玉 *han yü*, would preserve the corpse from corruption. The custom now is to put a piece of silver or some small article in the mouth.

It is said that a corpse has a small loaf of bread placed in one hand and a stick in the other. If attacked by a dog

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he may first feed it with the bread and then, if necessary, drive it away with the stick.

Coffins are of various prices, according to the wood and varnish used. It is common for elderly people to have their coffins lying ready in the house for many years. The provision of a good coffin and an expensive funeral gets over many a difficulty in family relationships.

The body is encoffined 入殮 *ju lien* as soon as everything is ready. The sealing of the coffin lid 封棺 *fêng kuan* or 閉殮 *pi lien* takes place three days later, the delay being to give the spirit time to return if it will. Black varnish is generally used for sealing, and a charm is pasted on at the top and bottom. The stick and bread are taken out before the sealing. Three days later the coffin is placed in position in the central room, preparatory to the chanting for the dead. It may remain there for three months 三月殯 *san yüeh pin*, or for a year.

To show the importance of burial, there is a saying 亡人得土如得金. Earth is to the dead what gold is (to the living).

Funeral rites are counted more important than care for the living. The *Li-chi* 禮記 ideal is for one mourning a parent to have a bed of straw and a pillow of clay 寢苫枕塊, and for three years the teeth must not be shewn in laughter; neither wine nor meat should enter the mouth, nor silks cover the body; but coarse weeds and coarse food must be the mourner's lot.

The rule to mourn a parent for three years is based on the mother's nursing of her child for that time.

Strips of white paper are pasted on the sign-board, etc., mourning scrolls over the door-gods and the sorcerer's chart over the family altar.

There is a custom confined to the mountain districts and decidedly aboriginal: old and young of both sexes sing and dance in a ring round a pot of wine 跳鍋樁 *t'iao kuo chuang*. After dancing, each person cuts a piece from a large lump of pork, sits on the ground and sucks wine from the pot through a long pipe stem. This goes on for two or three days and nights.

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On every seventh day after the death, till forty-nine days have elapsed there is chanting, and the women of the family weep.

Soon after death there is a ceremony to open the road for the spirit; this is done by chanting and is more or less elaborate according to the family means.

A passport to Hades is also burned and the ashes put in or near the coffin and buried.

Immediately after opening the road a ceremony may be performed called 繞棺 *jao kuan*, to go round the coffin, or 熱血道場 *jê hsüeh t'ao ch'ang*, hot blood chapel. The Taoist priest chants the 救苦經 *chiu-k'u ching* save-from-sorrow classic. The ceremony may last from one to three days, according to the means of the family. It is the short way of getting through the funeral ceremonies; the longer will be described later.

Within three days all mourning preparations must be complete. The chief mourners must have white garments, turbans and shoes, with a coarse girdle; sometimes the clothes are of coarse hempen cloth. If a son of the deceased should hold an official position he must vacate office for three years.

The coffin is guarded by sons and grandsons while in the house.

The tablet set up immediately after death, and called 血靈位 *hsüeh-ling wei*, is only temporary. It is removed, and a new one of wood, sometimes gilded, takes its place 設靈位 *shé ling wei*. This is carried to the grave at the funeral, brought back, and kept in the house for three years.

At each family meal food is offered to the spirit, in some families for three years, in others only till the funeral, perhaps during seven or fourteen days. Much depends on the position of the family.

The priestly ceremonies: 道場 *Tao ch'ang*.

Chanting for the emancipation of the soul is done by Taoist priests and lasts for from three to eight days, according to the family means. The first act of the ceremony is to invite water 請水 *ch'ing shui* for the cleansing of the altar. The priests go in a body to the river where they bury paper,

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incense and candles, chant awhile, and return to the house with a vessel full of water.

Then the priests have a day of tramping round the house, a man following them with a tray of vegetarian dishes of all kinds, 串齋 *chuan chai.* Some of this food is first offered to the dead; the rest is eaten by the company. At the close of the ceremony the rice offered to the dead is at once carried off and presented to families with no male issue, in the hope that sons will then be born.

The priests then proceed to break open Hades 破地獄 *p'o ti-yii.* Quicklime is sprinkled on the ground in the form of a square to represent Hades; at each of the four sides is an imaginary gate. The priests walk round it, chanting as they go, then a priest breaks it open by smashing a basin or tile with his staff at each corner and in the middle.

At certain seasons lighted lanterns are set adrift on the rivers to appease the spirits of those dead who have no one to sacrifice to them.

To each of the ten kings of Hades a tablet is set up; the priests go round them chanting prayers and followed by the youth of the family. Each time they go round a passport is burned, till all ten kings have been thus passed.

In the courtyard of the house a small platform is erected for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*; ten lighted yellow candles are set thereon, incense is offered, and there is much chanting with clanging and banging of gongs, etc. It is said that when the spirits are pleased a small black line appears on the candles.

A ticket containing an official declaration about the person for whom the chanting is being done is burned with a thick bundle of paper, and thus sent to the gemmeous Emperor. This is called 上表 *shang piao.*

The priests cast a flower here and stick another there; this is supposed to take away sin or to lessen its evil consequences.

The departed spirit is exhorted 勸亡 *chü'an wang* to behave and and not to injure the living. It is also invited, with chanting, to return, the youths of the family kneeling meanwhile.

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A platform is put up, paper and incense burned on it, commands issued to the spirits, and 鬼彈子 *kuei tan-tzŭ* scattered for the benefit of orphan spirits. These *tan-tzŭ* are bread and cakes; the people scramble for them and eat them; those who eat become bold and are free from bad dreams.

A little weeping may be heard directly after the death, but it is generally checked because it confuses the spirit so that it cannot find its way; but after the formalities of opening the way and escorting the spirit through the difficulties of Hades are finished, the floodgates of weeping are opened. There are few if any paid weepers at a funeral, and this may be regarded as the real and spontaneous outflow of grief, though some, of course, weep as a mere form.

The ceremony of chanting for the dead is performed every seventh day for seven weeks, at the end of 100 days, and on the first, second and third anniversaries of the death.

The three Offerings to the dead, etc. 三獻禮 *san hsien li.*

Only those occupying a high position in social life and having an ancestral hall can have this expensive ceremony.

The three offerings are all alike, but one is given by the eldest son, one by the eldest grandson, and one by younger sons and grandsons. In each case the offerings are of three kinds, as follows: 酒樽, *chiu tsun*; 羹饌 *kêng chuan*; 香帛 *hsiang pi*; or, respectively, wine, soup and food, incense and silks. But various minor gifts are also included under these headings.

In this ceremony sacrifices are made to Heaven, Earth, the well, the kitchen god, the door god, the carrying-poles for the funeral, *sang yü shên* 喪輿神; to the effigy which leads the way 開路神 *k'ai-lu shên*, and to the 河伯 *ho pei* or gods of the river if a stream has to be crossed.

Temporary buildings are generally put up for the purposes of the ceremony; they are called 望燎所 *wang liao so* or 望位所 *wang wei so*, and often adjoin the house. They consist of rooms where are stored the three kinds of offerings named above; a 'chapel,' *tsan chiang t'ang* where the master of ceremonies performs the ceremonies; a pavilion 歌講廳

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ko chiang t'ing for the singers, who are generally scholars with youths to assist; a room for the mourning robes of the family, etc.

The officiating masters are usually literati, who call on the mourners to do certain things in a certain order. They are, the officiating priest 點主官 *tien chu kuan*; the two precentors 引讚生 *yin tsan shêng*; three or four assistant precentors 通讚生 *t'ung tsan shêng*; the reader of the eulogy 讀祝生 *tu chu shêng*; singers of the poetic eulogy 歌詩生 *ko shih shêng*; the teacher of filial duties for the youth of the family 講書生 *chiang shu shêng*.

Letters are sent to relatives, announcing the date of the funeral and the time when offerings to the deceased should begin, and giving an invitation to be present.

The mourners arrive for the ceremony, bringing many kinds of gifts, such as pigs and sheep for sacrifice; pig's head, feet and tail, raw, or cooked with coloured rice; paper, candles, incense, gold and silver tinsel money, with "golden youths and gemmy maids" *i.e.* slaves made of paper.

A paper shrine is prepared to contain the tablet when carried to the grave.

The sons and daughters put on their white or coarse hemp garments, and white turbans or girdles are given out to all visitors.

A likeness of the deceased is hung in the chief room of the house. Lanterns are hung, and mourning scrolls of any coloured paper except red; the most commonly used are white and light blue. On the lanterns are the characters 當大事 *tang ta shih*.

The services are begun by the sons going round to the mourning department, donning the mourning robes and taking from each store such things as wine, incense, etc.; these they offer to the tablet 神主牌 *shên chu p'ai*, and then fall down before it while the the preacher reads and the singers chant the Filial Piety classic 孝經 *hsiao ching*.

The members of the family walk up to the pavilion where the ancestral tablet has been placed. They prostrate themselves before it at the bidding of the master of ceremonies, and return to their places. This is done thrice.

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A notice is read that the family has entered on a season of mourning 讀成服文 *tu ch'êng fu wên*. Then the chief mourners kneel towards the *wang liao so*, the master of ceremonies burns the notice of mourning, the mourners and friends enter the house, and the initial ceremony is at an end.

The ancestral tablet 神主牌 *shên chu p'ai*, is a double piece of wood about three feet long, the outer portion fitting on the other like a box-lid; on both surfaces is written 新故某公某府某諱某老人老孺人之神主 meaning that it is the abode of the newly deceased person, name, etc., being given.

The consecration of the tablet begins by the eldest son kneeling down and taking it on his back; he carries it to the ceremonial table and there leaves it.

Then the scholar *tien chu kuan* who is to perform the duty is brought in; he washes his hands and approaches the table, where a pencil and red ink are also put ready. He takes the tablet from its casket and lays the two parts on the table with their surfaces exposed. Then the finger of the chief mourner is pricked for blood, with which the officiating scholar mixes his red ink. The pencil, having been dipped in this blood and ink, is breathed on by the scholar. The idea is to get the life, virtue and ability of the son and the officiating scholar into the tablet, as in writing a Heaven and Earth tablet. (See under *Family Altar*).

Next, a dot of red is put over the date of birth and another over the date of death. Then a red stroke is made through the character 神 *shên* on the inner tablet 穿內神 *ch'uan nei shên*, and a red dot is put on the 主 *chu*. These characters being thus completed they are enclosed by covering with the external part of the tablet 合主 *ho chu*. The same two characters on the outer tablet are then finished in the same way.

A red circle is put on each side of the tablet to represent the ears; a red dot at the top is for the forehead, and one at the bottom is for the feet; down the middle of the tablet is put another red mark, on both front and back. This whole proceeding is called *k'ai kuang* 開光 or opening the senses. It is to be remarked that there is an inner part of the tablet,

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supposed to correspond to the inner man, while the sense organs are on the outer tablet, and the breath on the pencil touches all into life.

When the writing is finished the scholar throws the pen over his shoulder. It is caught and used to paint the sores of smallpox: they will then not run together.

The tablet is put back into its casket, and the scholar addresses it as the person himself and lauds his virtues.

The chief mourner then knocks his head 磕頭 *k'o t'ou* four times to the officiating scholar, who now retires, and the tablet is taken by the son and placed beside the spirit tablet 靈牌 *ling p'ai*.

Incense and wine are offered to the tablet, while the preacher reads aloud the pacificatory ode 安主文 *an chu wên*.

A document in which are written the virtuous deeds of the deceased is burned. The sons bow thrice while this is done, fire-crackers are let off, women weep and singers praise the dead man's virtues; and the ceremony comes to an end.

The funeral 送喪 *sung sang*.

The finding of a lucky spot for the grave is the geomancer's business, and is a most important matter. Many miles may be travelled and much money spent in seeking the right place, especially for a parent's grave. The prosperity of the family depends on the position of the ancestral tombs. It is said that if the *wang ming* 亡命 departed life and the earth crust 山甲 *shan chia* do not agree, the spirit returns and troubles the living with sickness and disaster. For this reason the remains are sometimes removed to a new resting-place.

The geomancer has also to fix the day for the funeral. As all branches of the family must have their convenience suited, the funeral may be postponed for years, the remains being kept in the house or in a temple, or the coffin may be put outside and thatched with straw against the weather 寄土, *ch'i t'u* or 停棺 *t'ing kuan*. When the lucky day is agreed on, the lucky times for leaving the house and for lowering the coffin are also fixed.

At the proper time the coffin is carried out and a catafalque placed over it; a tile on the roof is driven outwards

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with a hatchet and broken to pieces; sometimes rice is scattered and swept inwards as the coffin is carried out.

Strips of white paper attached to the ends of bamboo rods are used as flags to lead the spirit to the grave 引魂幡 *yin hun fan.*

Paper money called 買路錢 *mai lu ch'ien*, buying-road money, is scattered to the demons on the way. This money is of various shapes and sizes.

The tablet which is to be destroyed at the end of three years, not that belonging to the ancestral hall, is carried out on a portable pavilion *t'ing tzŭ*, with candles, incense, etc. Afterwards it is taken back to the house.

A paper image to which sacrifice has been offered, is put in front of the coffin to open the road, 開路神 *k'ai-lu shên*. It is burned at the grave.

On the coffin a white cock is carried, to lead the spirit which is supposed to be in the coffin. For there are three spirits; one enters Hades, one the tablet, while the third goes to the grave. The cock is the perquisite of the geomancer.

Paid men carry the coffin, and the chief mourners dressed in weeds go in front and pull. Women generally go in chairs, weeping as they go. They are accompanied by umbrellas, gongs, fire-crackers, etc.

A coffin may not be borne through a city unless it has the dragon's head at its back and front. This becomes absolutely necessary when a funeral cortège has a long distance to go.

Husbands and wives are laid close together, the side of the first grave being opened and the side of the coffin laid bare, that the new-comer may lie close. This is termed 聯棺合塚 *lien kuan ho chung.*

The grave is dug 開山 *k'ai shan* a day or more beforehand at a lucky time, and in the direction fixed by the geomancer.

A scholar with a degree is invited to 破土 *po t'u* break earth. He shoots three arrows away from the grave, then burns incense and worships. The idea is that the progeny of the deceased will become like this scholar.

A notice is read, to inform the spirits of the hills that the interment has taken place and to set the spirit of the deceased at rest.

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The shops which sell other funeral requisites have ready-printed forms for title-deeds of the ground on which burial is made. These are read at the grave and on the third day burned there. In the case of land acquired for the purpose of course it is a copy of the real deed which is used.

The position of the coffin in the grave is fixed by the geomancer with chart and compass.

Three days later an offering of food, wine and paper money is brought to the grave 三日伏山 *san jih fu shan.*

Cranes, deer and a tombstone, all of paper, are taken to the grave; the tombstone is placed where the proper stone will afterwards be erected; the other things are left on each side of the grave to be destroyed by the weather.

The grave is guarded by the sons of the family, but sometimes people are paid to do it. Grave riflers might otherwise strip the dead of their clothing, though the punishment for such crime is death. For the first three nights a straw torch is lighted at the grave; if it is burns out it is a lucky omen, it is unlucky if half is left unburned.

After a few months fresh earth is heaped on the tomb, and every spring or winter afterwards.

A tombstone or ornamental arch is erected to the memory of the dead. In wealthy families the stone is set on the back of a stone tortoise. In the case of officials stone pillars are put up. High officials have stone lions round the grave, to remind them of the stone lions of their yamens. The trees of a graveyard are spoken of as being like the clothing on the body. If they grow well the family will increase and prosper. There is hence trouble when one branch of a family wishes to cut down trees round the ancestral tombs.

Before the graves of very important men are set up statues of men, horses, etc.

Public graveyards are generally on land given for the purpose, and the title-deeds are kept in the yamen for 60 years, after which the graves and tombstones are a sufficient guarantee. In some such public cemeteries small towers 枯骨塔 *k'u ku t'a* are built as receptacles for dry bones dug up in grave-digging; on them may be the characters 骨肉相遇 *ku jou hsiang yü*, flesh and bones meet.

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A young child is often rolled in a mat or old garment and buried without ceremony, and new-born babies are often thrown out to be devoured by the dogs.

Buddhist priests' graves may be known by the small pagoda-shaped stone in front.

It is supposed to have been the custom to level all grave mounds at the beginning of a new dynasty, till the Ta Ch'ing dynasty, whose grace extended to love of the bones of the dead 泽及枯骨 *chai chi k'u ku*. At the present time much land is occupied by the dead which is greatly needed for the use of the living.

Sometimes the astrologer says the deceased has done something which will shortly cause another death in the family 犯重喪 *fan ch'ung sang*. Then a coffin is prepared and funeral rites gone through for some imaginary person or perhaps for a known sick person, and the empty coffin is buried. It is hoped this will deceive the demons and prevent the second death.

The Cantonese in Ssŭch'uan often remove the bones of their dead to another place. A grandparent's bones are inurned and kept on the family altar, in some cases being counted and strung together on wire or cord.

The aborigines find out from the astrologer how a body should be disposed of, whether by hanging out for the birds to devour 天葬 *t'ien tsang*, by throwing to the beasts of the field 地葬 *ti tsang*, by cremation 火葬 *huo tsang*, or by throwing into the river 水葬 *shui tsang*.

National mourning 國服 *kuo fu*. On the death of an emperor of the Ch'ing dynasty men went unshaved for a hundred days; and no red buttons might be worn on the hat; if the New Year came in this period no red scrolls were pasted on the doorposts, etc., but white or blue scrolls might be put up in sign of mourning. Women did not wear their ornaments, and marriages and theatricals were deferred till the hundred days were over.

During the first three days all officials sat for a certain time on straw in the temple, while no public business was attended to, except urgent cases of life and death.

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CHAPTER V

THE DOMESTIC ALTAR 家神 *

THE domestic altar is called *chia k'an hsiang huo* 家龕香火 or *shên k'an* 神龕 or *shên kuei* | 櫃; on the upper part is an incense pot; in the niche or cupboard is *t'u ti* 土地 the precinct god. This shrine is the last thing to leave the house when the habitants remove, and as long as it is there the owner of it claims to be in possession. When he removes the cupboard he invites the domestic gods to follow him, *ch'ing chia-shên* 請家神, the colloquial for worshipping them being *kung* 供 *chia-shên*.

The Heaven and Earth tablet 天地君親師 *t'ien ti chün ch'in shih* is dedicated to Heaven, Earth, Emperor, Ancestors and Teachers. It is said this tablet originated with Ssŭ tzŭ Yen wang 四子燕王 of the Han dynasty. Before he became emperor he fled before soldiers seeking to kill him, but stopped at the request of some friendly folk who asked him to write a tablet for the family altar. He wrote the above five characters, and explained that "Heaven has a covering grace, Earth a supporting grace," and so on.

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* This chapter appeared in the *Journal* of the North China Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 1918, and is reproduced here by kind permission of the Council. Numerous alterations will be noticed.

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Another account says they were written by 漢班超 Pan chao, also of the Han dynasty. Both men may have done it, but the former story is the more generally believed.

The writing of a family altar tablet is an important matter with many people. The wisest and most learned man available is asked to write it; he puts on his best official robes and breathes upon his pencil to give life to it and to the tablet.

The ancient ancestral tablet 門中歷代高曾遠祖位 *mên chung li tai kao tsêng yüan tsu wei*, has largely been ousted by the Heaven and Earth tablet; but some scholars still use it because they consider Heaven and Earth are only to be worshipped by the emperor. The ancestral tablet is only written to three generations next to the living head of the family, but in all, eighteen are included, nine ascending generations and nine descending. The nine dead are named, 鼻祖 *pi tsu*, nose ancestor, or first ancestor; so called because the nose is the part supposed to be first conceived is the womb; 2, *yüan* 遠 or distant, 3, *t'ai* 太 great; 4, *lieh* 烈 illustrious; 5, *t'ien* 天 heavenly; 6, *kao* 高 high; each of these adjectives being joined to *tsu*, ancestor; the deceased great-grandfather, grandfather and father are respectively 7, *tsêng tsu* 曾祖, 8, *tsu kung* 祖公 and 9, *hsien k'ao* 顯考. The nine descending generations are the son, called *nan* 男, and the rest are *sun* 孫 grandson combined with the following adjectives: *ssŭ* 祀, *hsüan* 玄, *lai* 來, *k'un* 昆, *jêng* 礽 *yün* 雲, and *êrh* 耳; the last name being again on the supposition that the ear is the latest member formed.

These eighteen generations come within the scope of the family altar. Sometimes, for brevity, *pi tsu* represents the ancestors and *êrh sun* the posterity.

Thus in ancestral worship prayer is made to the departed heads of the family for a long continuation of the line; this is spoken of as 香爐灰不斷 *hsiang lu hui pu tuan*, to perpetuate the ashes in the incense pot. There can be no greater insult than to empty out the ashes from the incense urn; and for fear of this being done many old people will not permit the family altar to be touched by anyone.

To obtain sons they make pilgrimages to distant shrines; a man on changing his residence invokes the spirits of his

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ancestors to follow him. Everything pertaining to idolatry may be given up easily, but ancestor worship only with great difficulty. Some have pretended to be without a family altar, while they have still been continuing the worship in a secluded part of the house. This is the kernel of the religion of the Chinese; fear of the displeasure of departed ancestors is very real, and no expense is spared to make their spirits rest in peace.

The idea of transmigration or rather rotation of souls seems to be found in this altar, and the *tzŭ p'ai* 字派 of the family bears this out. Most families use only sixteen names; but some have thirty-two and a few have twenty-four; when these have run their course the round begins afresh, and the spirits of ancestors are probably supposed to do the same.

The furniture in the chief room in the house does not belong to any individual member of the family, but is attached to the family altar and is family property.

A tablet to three classes of religions is not uncommon, and in some homes it takes the place of the Heaven and Earth tablet. It includes (1) 上三教 *shang san chiao*, the upper three religions, viz.—Confucius 儒教孔聖 *ju chiao K'ung shêng;* the Taoist Sage 道教老君 *tao chiao Lao chün;* Buddha, 釋教牟尼 *Shih chiao mu ni.* (2) *Chung* 中 *san chiao*, the middle three religions: the god of Literature 文昌帝君 Wên Ch'ang ti chün; the god of War 關聖大帝 Yin ch'üeh ta ti; the god of dark Heaven 玄天上帝 hsüan t'ien shang ti. (3) *Hsia* 下 *san chiao*, the lower three religions: the god of Medicine 藥王菩薩 Yo wang p'u sa; the goddess of Mercy 觀音大士 Kuan Yin ta shih; the god of cattle Niu 牛 wang p'u sa.

On this tablet there is also written 歷代昭穆 *li tai chao mu*, to the ancestors far and near.

At the outer left hand side of the door as one enters a house may be seen an idol or tablet to the Taoist trinity, 三品三元三官大帝 *san p'in san yüan san kuan ta ti.* The worshipper bows to the outside as he is supposed to be worshipping heaven. The idol is generally a painting about a foot square.

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The Kitchen god 竈神 Tsao shên, is the universally worshipped god of the kitchen, who preserves the lives of the families from starvation and poison. There is said to be a wife also, who acts as the god's deputy when he ascends to heaven on the 23rd of each month to give in his monthly report. In the last moon he goes up to report to the heavenly emperor on the family's conduct through the year. Before he goes incense is burned on his altar, and sugar candy offered him to gain his favour and get a good report.

He is said to have been Sui jên 燧人 the Prometheus who taught the Chinese how to get fire. The belief dates back to the mythological period. Fire was then produced by driving a drill into different kinds of wood according to the seasons; in spring the elm and willow were used; in summer the date and apricot, or in late summer the silk-worm oak; in autumn the gardenia and rosewood, and in winter the oak and hornbeam.

The kitchen god has been styled the lord of the house. He has two assistants, the stick-gatherer 撥柴童子 *pan ch'ai t'ung tzŭ*, and the water-carrier 運水郎君 *yün shui lang chün*. He is chiefly worshipped in his niche in the kitchen, but occasionally in the chief room. He takes special care of the domestic animals, chickens, cats, dogs, etc., and sometimes a picture of these is put up just below his shrine. In the kitchen fire nothing dirty may be burned, for fear of offending him, nor may flesh of dog or cow be cooked in his pot. No quarrelling is allowed in the kitchen, lest he should hear and report, 一家吵鬧使我不安我必降災 廚登牛犬穢氣觸我我必降災.

"If in kitchen vessels the vile odour of dog or cow annoys me I will send calamity; if the family quarrels and disturbs me I will send calamity."

The domestic lares are husband and wife, 長生土地 *ch'ang shêng t'u ti* and 瑞慶夫人 *jui ch'ing fu jên*. The domestic god of the soil bestows long life, and his wife gives good luck to the household. His place in the house is just below the Heaven and Earth tablet, and special offerings are made to him on the 7th of the 7th moon.

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If the family worships a *t'an shên* 壇神 or altar of lemuria or shades, then that spirit looks after the animals; otherwise the duty falls on this tutelary god and the kitchen god. Often when a child falls sick or the pig gets the measles, an offering is made to this god. He has two slaves, *chao t'sai* 招財 and *chin pao* 進寶. These names are often given to dogs; hence a saying 來狗主富 *lai kou chu fu*, when a dog comes he rules the riches.

T'an shên is the altar of the lemuria or ghosts. The spirit is believed to be a man named Chao, 趙 formerly prefect in Nan Yang. The altar is in the left-hand corner of the chief room. Some are fixed shrines, others are moveable and are often a hollow stone in which incense is burned. It is mostly used by the superstitious wealthy.

Every three or five years there is a 'tranquillizing' ceremony: see under Sorcery and particularly under the heading *ching t'an*.

When a family changes its abode or when anything unlucky has happened in the house the family altar has to be pacified 安神 *an shên*. This is the work of the *huo chü tao* 火居道, married Taoist Sorcerer.

The same class of priest is used for the worship of heaven 供天 *kung t'ien*. During this ceremony the family altar is covered with a chart or tablet. A table is placed outside the door under the open sky and an offering of incense and candles is made.

The ceremony is most commonly performed when the paying back of a vow is required. A son may, for example, vow to offer to heaven so many sets of candles and incense sticks if a parent is healed of a sickness, or gains a lawsuit, or has a safe journey. A *set* means 32 of each kind, but if a Buddhist priest officiates (which is seldom, except at a funeral), the set is only 24.

What would appear to have been originally an exceptionally pure act of worship is now often a pretext for gratifying the lowest passions. For instance a man may vow an offering to heaven if a certain enemy dies or has his line of succession cut off, and the like.

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The tablet used is 三十二天上帝中央一元梵天帝君 *san shih êrh t'ien shang ti chung yang i ch'i fan t'ien ti chün*; or a Buddhist priest uses 二十四諸天菩薩無量世尊 *êrh shih ssŭ chu t'ien p'u sa wu liang shih tsun.*

Note that there is one incense stick and one candle for each spirit worshipped.

Another ceremony is the worshipping or thanking Earth *kung ti* 供地 or *hsieh t'u* 謝土.

This is deemed necessary when a house has been repaired, the dragon having possibly been disturbed; or when a new house is first occupied, or when 土府不安 *t'u fu pu an*, the place does not agree with the resident. This is indicated perhaps by his digging up some unlucky thing, such as *t'u lung tan* 土龍蛋 dragon's eggs, which are black, soft balls with contents like blood: in such cases there is need to worship Earth. Or it may be necessary because a geomancer states that the resident is at variance with the five capital evils 五皇煞 *wu huang sha*, or with those of the current year *sui* 歲 *sha*, or with that of the yellow flag *huang fan* 黃幡 *sha* or that of the leopard's tail *pao wei* 豹尾 *sha*; when Earth is worshipped these disturbing spirits are worshipped.

This ceremony also is managed by a married Taoist sorcerer. A table is set outside the house and candles and incense lighted on it. On the ground the four points of the compass are marked by lines of dry lime, a candle being stuck in the earth at each extremity of the lines and in the centre. Sometimes, especially when the fault is with the house itself, the ceremony is performed in the chief room.

Five tablets are set up to the five dragons of the five points, *wu lung shên* 五龍神, inscribed with 東方青帝青龍神君 *tung fang ch'ing ti ch'ing lung shên chün*, the eastern green dragon spirit, and similarly for the other four, which are the southern red, the western white, the northern black, and the central yellow dragon spirits. Along with these tablets there are others to the gods of the five planets; in the east the wood-virtue god (Jupiter), while south, west, north and middle are the gods of fire-virtue (Mars), metal-virtue (Venus), water-virtue (Mercury), and earth-virtue (Saturn) respectively. The inscriptions are 東方木德星君 *tung fang mu tê hsing chün*, etc.

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The five dragons and five planets have an intimate association with the five cardinal tenets of the secret societies.

Another tablet of a more general nature is set up, 土府九壘高皇大帝 *t'u fu chiu lei kao huang ta ti*. This is for worshipping the god of springs and placating the five dragons. *T'u fu* seems to include the whole family of Earth, while *chiu lei* is said to refer to the nine continents.

There is also a somewhat similar ceremony of worshipping the gods of Wind, Clouds, Thunder, Rain, Sun, Moon and Stars; the tablets being Fêng po 風伯 (*fêng*, wind); this was a statesman of the T'ang dynasty named K'uei Chêng 魏徵. He is said to have killed the five-horned dragon. Yü Shih 雨師 (*yü*, rain), a statesman of the Yin dynasty, by name Fu Yüeh 傅說. Le tsu 雷詛 (*lei*, thunder) is said to have been Wên t'ai shih 文太師. And lastly Yün lung 雲龍, the cloud dragon. The sun is the emperor, the moon the empress, the planets the statesmen, the larger stars the provincial officials and the smaller stars, the people.

There is also thanksgiving to the Fire-star, 謝火星君 *hsieh huo hsing chün*, both a parochial and a domestic affair. We here speak only of the domestic side, the other being dealt with under the Feast of All Souls. When there has been anything approaching to a conflagration in the house, or anything to indicate that the fire-demon is in the ascendant, a few pieces of red-hot coal are taken from the kitchen fire, put into a jar, and extinguished with water, while the priest chants the incantations necessary to drive the demon from the house.

Those who live by rivers and marshes worship or thank the Water-star 謝水星 *hsieh shui hsing*, hoping to be thus saved from flood. In this ritual the dragon of the five cardinal points is the chief object of worship. A jug of water is brought from the river, and the priest chants his incantations over it. After the ceremony both jug and water are taken outside and thrown away.

[To be continued]

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A LITTLE-KNOWN CHINESE WRITER

BY

E. T. C. WERNER

H. B. M. CONSUL, FOOCHOW, (RETIRED).

SOME of the greatest writers are but little known. A voluminous Chinese writer whose works were not published during his life-time, and have not yet been published, died in 1916 at an age variously stated as 81, 82 and 84. His name was Wang K'ai-yün 王闓運; his *hao* Jên Ch'iu 壬秋. He was a native of Hsiang-t'an Hsien 湘潭縣 in Hunan, a *chü-jên* 舉人 of the Ch'ing dynasty, and received the title of Chien T'ao 檢討 during the reign of Kuang Hsü. He, Tso Tsung-t'ang 左宗棠, Ou-yang Hsiao-ts'ên 欧陽筱岑, and another, were known as the Four *Chü-jên* of Hunan (有湖南四舉人之目).

Of these four, Tso Tsung-t'ang, generally referred to as Tso Wên Hsiang 左文襄, the honorific title bestowed upon him by imperial edict after his death, was when a youth of an ambitious nature, aiming to be the Chu-ko Liang 諸葛亮 of the Ch'ing dynasty. Ou-yang Hsiao-ts'ên was a relative of Tsêng Kuo-fan 曾國藩, usually known by his canonized title Tsêng Wên Chêng 曾文正, who is reputed to have been of a similar nature, often holding the native authorities up to ridicule. Wang K'ai-yün was one degree lower in rank than

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Tso Wên Hsiang. During his youth he also was of an independent disposition. In his letters he calls Tso his thirteenth uncle (十三丈), and his correspondence generally contains many high-falutin phrases. Tsêng Wên Chêng, who re-established the Ch'ing dynasty by quelling the rebellion at Kiang Nan, south of the Yang-tzü River, treated men of wisdom and virtue with respect, and when possible enlisted them in his service as secretaries, etc. Some of these were Wang's pupils. Tsêng once made enquiries at his secretariat concerning Wang, but the reply he received was: "Jên Ch'iu, though his parents are very old, is now on his honeymoon (新婚)." Whether this was true or whether it was a ruse to prevent Wang being appointed to an official post there is nothing to show. However, in the reign of Hsien Fêng 咸豐, Wang was acting as amanuensis to the Grand Secretary Su Shun 肅順, who was in the emperor's confidence, and had great influence with him. When, in the reign of T'ung Chih 同治, Su Shun was put to death for remonstrating with the Empress Dowager for taking the management of the national affairs out of the emperor's hands, Wang gave up his post and returned home.

Wang's intercourse with the famous statesmen Li Hung-chang 李鴻章, Chang Chih-tung 張之洞, P'êng yü-lin 彭玉麟, etc., was conducted on terms of equality: he made no difference with them because they were high officials. Some of his correspondence with them is written in a humorous vein.

Yang Tu 楊度, of the Hung Hsien 洪憲 period (the Imperial title assumed by Yüan Shih-k'ai) and Sung Yü-jên 宋育仁, who was impeached by the parliament for advising Yüan Shih-k'ai to abdicate in favour of the emperor Hsüan T'ung in 1914 or 1915, were both his pupils.

His Essays are composed in imitation of those of the Six Dynasties (六朝); his *p'ien t'i* 駢體 are the best of modern times. However, the construction of his Memorials to the Throne and of his *ku-wên* 古文 are not so good as those composed by the various Ministers of the Ch'ing dynasty, the eight famous *ku-wên* authors of the T'ang and Sung dynasties, the T'ung Ch'êng 桐城 sect, etc. But his *Hsiang chün chih*

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湘軍志, *History of the Hunan Military Expeditions*, is quite super-excellent; the best parts of it have been compared with the *Shih chi* 史記 of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien 司馬遷. His Commentaries on the various *ching* 經 are in agreement with those of the great scholars of the Han dynasty. His poems are modelled on those of the Han, Wei, and Six Dynasties, but he did not imitate those of the T'ang, those being in his opinion too modern (!). He wrote commentaries on each paragraph of the thirteen *ching*, as well as criticisms of the twenty-one histories. Hardly any of these have been printed. He annotated the topographies of the various provinces and of the *hsien* districts of Hunan, some of them being compiled entirely by him. His criticisms on the *tzŭ* 子, philosophers, of the Ch'in, Han, etc., dynasties are accepted as correct. His knowledge of literature was vast and thorough. It is said there was no book with which he was not acquainted. But while his *pien li* 駢儷 dissertations, his poems, and his criticisms on the various philosophers are regarded as classics, his commentaries on the *ching* 經 are somewhat faulty and not so pure in style as that of his criticisms, etc. Some blemishes are also to be found in his essays. He ignored the *li hsüeh* 理學 ethical treatises, of the Sung, Ming, and Ch'ing dynasties, as well as the *ku wên* from the T'ang dynasty onwards. He was also fond of expanding the principles involved in the opinions he had previously expressed.

Nearly all the Hunanese scholars of that time were his pupils. He was successively appointed Superintendent of various colleges, and it is related of him that when he went on a round of inspection of the dormitories he would stand at the door and ask the students if there were any doubtful points in their studies, and would then explain them more fully.

Yüan Shih-k'ai appointed him Chief Secretary of the National Historiographical Bureau. His appreciation of his old friends was very great, especially of P'êng Yü-lin, who died a long time (26 years) before he did. This is especially shown in a preface of his dedicated to the Hêng Yang 衡陽 College.

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Yang Tu's sister was his daughter-in-law. At the time of their marriage Chinese women were in the habit of discussing with one another how to save China from foreign aggression, etc., and she made up her mind to go to Japan to study, but Wang wrote to her pointing out, in effect, that reform should begin at home. She subsequently took to teaching in poor families, refusing all offers of employment by the wealthy.

His sons, daughters, and daughters-in-law were all thoroughly educated in the Chinese classics, history, and literature. Whilst he was very much attached to his poor friends and aged relatives, he enjoyed chaffing the government authorities. The ribaldry of his nature once lost him a post to which was attached a salary of 10,000 taels offered him by Chang Wên Hsiang. In his reply to the offer he treated the matter as a joke, so the proposal fell through, Music, money, and women were always treated by him with indifference.

He is the standard Confucianist of modern times.

The draft of his essay, the *Mu chih ming* 墓誌銘 (an engraved monument buried in front of the coffin) of P'êng Yü-lin, is valued by native bibliophiles at 3,000 taels.

The books he wrote but did not publish, when piled up formed a column as high as himself.

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NOTES AND QUERIES

THIS number of the Review is in lighter vein, because it is the summer number. The *Trip on the Yangtze* can hardly be called sinology; but to those who remember the China of thirty years ago it will be interesting. It was evidently written in 1889, probably sent to the *China Review*, and now first sees the light again. There is no name attached to the manuscript.

* * *

Prospect Hill 景山, the subject of the frontispiece to this number, is familiar to all who visit Peking. It is an artificial mound, about 150 ft. high, and is supposed to be a heap of coal, laid up long ago as provision in case of siege: hence its common name of Mei-shan 煤山, Coal Hill. The last Ming emperor, having lost the empire, hanged himself on this hill.

* * *

Major Yetts' etching was exhibited at the Royal Academy in London this year. The beautiful print from which our reproduction is made is not offered for sale; but the original which was reproduced in our first number is still in the possession of the Review, and the Editor will be pleased to show it to intending purchasers.

* * *

A valued correspondent sends the following as an attempt to translate the passage from Carlyle quoted by Mr. Cornaby on p. 57 as being untranslateable. He remarks that

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he has represented God as stage-manager, so to speak, rather than as author of the drama; but this could easily be altered. The attempt will no doubt be interesting to a number of our readers.

實不極詣機明及所爲其輝以照以無即演爲萬
座可明於以智萬含上主蔽永臨衆塊在劇劇圖
之遍傳上導慧般之帝演之時之陽之無之戲歷
前視暗帝引之開意其者屏爲炬爲中窮塲其史

NOTES BY L. C. ARLINGTON

MOSTLY ON GILES' DICTIONARY

[The Nos. refer to the *Chinese-English Dictionary* unless the *Biographical Dictionary* is named]

LIANG HAO, Giles' *Dict.* No. 3895 and *Biog. Dict.* No. 1244, 灝 as given under No. 7479 is correct and not 顥. Liang's antecedents are not very clear. According to the *Ch'êng Yü K'ao* and *San Tzŭ Ching* he was 82 when he took his degree, whereas both the 朝野雜記 and 黃氏日抄 state that he took his degree at 26, 梁｜中狀元年才二十六. The 宋史梁灝傳 has the following passage, ‖雍熙二年中狀元 *i.e.* in A.D. 986, which would make him 73 when he took his degree. Query: at what age did he graduate?

* * *

"Under the hibiscus mirror" 人鏡芙蓉, is an expression meaning that one will have literary fame as happened to 李固言; see Giles' *Biog. Dict.* No. 1157. 口角, 陽春, 口角生春, 口角發風, are terms for persons who have the gift of the gab, flatter, cajole, etc. These phrases originated with Sung Ching (*Biog. Dict.* No. 1830) whose sobriquet of 陽春 was given to him by the people because of his loquacity.

* * *

12,043, 杜康, "liquor," is taken from the name of a skilled inventor of wine. The distillers at Shaohingfu in Chekiang pay respect to his manes every 酉 day. He was a

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native of Tung P'u 東浦 near Shaohingfu, a place still famous for its good wine.

* * *

No. 9602, 色難, does not necessarily refer to "filial piety"; it is constantly used in the sense of "difficult to define one's duties." Under the same number add 咬色, "to regard duty as unimportant." This is an historical expression. Giles has omitted under No. 1335 the common phrases | 子 and | 女, the father's instructions to the respective sons and daughters on the wedding day, | 宵 refers to the wedding dinner. Under No. 2302, | 水 is also a metaphor for "tears."

* * *

No. 3375, 結髮夫婦 does not necessarily mean of an "old couple," but may be referred to a young couple as well. *Chieh fa* 結髮 also means "in early youth." In a poem by Su Wu of the 1st cent. B.C. the sentence 結髮爲夫婦 means married in early youth. In the Commentary of Li Kuang 李廣 B.C. 119, we read that he fought with the Hsiung-uu from his early youth 自結髮與匈奴戰.

* * *

Under 1325, the entry 再 | "to marry again," is said to be of modern origin, and the correct character to be *li*, 醴 No. 6950; at least it was so used in ancient times. As the character *li* refers to the non-alcoholic spirits used at marriage ceremonies, there is much to be said for its use instead of *chiao*, which rather refers to sacrifice.

* * *

Giles' 2032 | 友 and 13,630 玉昆 are the sobriquets of two brothers of the Ch'i State named 王鎧 and 王錫, noted for their virtue and fraternal love. According to the 梁史 the original phrase was 金昆玉友.

* * *

According to ancient history (*vide* commentary on the 堯典平章), there was a distinction between the 黎民 and 百姓. The former were apparently the agricultural class, and the latter the official and business classes. The term 百姓 is derived from the hundred official clans, (百姓百官族姓也); the sentence 黎民於變乃是民耳, when the

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li min (uncivilized) become transformed, they are the same as the *min* (civilized or educated), proves this. This brings us to an important subject, *viz:* the Shih Ching sentence 民靡有黎 *Vide* Giles, No. 6942: "there were no black-haired men left among the people,—only grey-headed men:" Giles, it is evident, copied Legge's translation, which is too forced. The obvious meaning is therefore, that all of the men employed in agriculture, or husbandmen, were exterminated during the wars.

* * *

To further elucidate our subject, I may mention that the sentence 保我黎民 inscribed on votive tablets in temples does not mean "Protect Our black-haired people," but "Protect Our husbandmen,"—so that they may till the fields and produce crops in order to provide the people with food.

* * *

According to the author of the *Sui-Yüan-Sui-Pi*, the great Emperor Yao 堯 had a double surname, 伊祁; the surname of 姬 was taken after his accession to the throne. His worthless son Tan Chu's surname was Li 狸, fox. This is another instance of father and son having different surnames.

Siamese Witchery 訂頭 (*see p. 91*)

The Siamese witchery "牛皮訂" has penetrated those parts of China contiguous to the Siamese and Lao districts. Williams' Dictionary, under Ku 蠱, gives 放蠱 to poison, said to be done by women in Kwang-si. Evidently this is a special form of the poisoning art, not the common "下毒." It would be interesting to know if the "ox-hide" superstition is referred to in this case.

In Yünnan, as far north as 景東廳, such a practice is associated with the distinctive term "下蠱," and was brought to my notice by my coolies suddenly and unaccountably refusing their food. Persuasions, exhortations, scoldings were equally useless. They simply would not eat; and marvellous as it is for a Chinaman to refuse physic, they would not even indulge in an enjoyable chew of quinine.

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Then came the explanation. The women of those parts had a fearful magic. An ox-hide was spread out, whilst over it charms were chanted and spells were cast. The hide responded by contracting until, in size, color and texture, it was indistinguishable from a grain of rice. Being dropped into a stranger's rice-bowl, it was taken into the stomach, where it remained unchanged until the poisoner chose to repeat the appropriate charm. Thereupon, however remote the interval of time or location, the hide slowly but surely resumed its original size, with painful and gruesome results to the unfortunate victim, who until now had been blissfully ignorant of anything amiss.

There is a variation of the practice, wherein the effects are in the sexual, rather than the gastronomical, realm. The oxhide is not required. The lady operator in question, being smitten by the charms of the chosen male, weaves her wicked spells over the rice which he is to eat. As before, the victim experiences no immediate effects; until, maybe years afterwards, virtuously seated in the bosom of his devoted family, the charm is worked by his far-off seducer, and he is irresistibly drawn, over river and mountain, to her arms.

* * *

At 景東廳 bananas were abundant, and we revelled in the luxury. But solemn warnings were given that the fruit was the immediate cause of 瘧痢. This particularly virulent form of malaria is rampant in those localities, adding fearfully to the death-rate.

Lying low in a long narrow valley, the district bears an evil reputation amongst the Yünnanese occupying the high tablelands surrounding it; their horror being crystallized in the couplet:—

"景東一條瞽
紅燕過路要落毛."

ARTHUR H. SANDERS.

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RECENT LITERATURE

Letters to a Missionary, by R. F. Johnston. London; Watts & Co., 1918, 4/6. (Kelly & Walsh, Limited, $2.70).

The reviewer saw a picture displayed in London shop windows many years ago, in which a bush appeared with much smoke curling upward from it, while a man stood looking at it awestruck; but to everyone except simple Moses the mystery of the burning bush was solved by the sight of a tramp who was vigorously smoking behind it.

Even to refer to such blatant vulgarity of a free-thinking journal may seem unfair; we do it only because Mr. Johnston has not scrupled to rake together what is most discreditable to Christianity; and we hasten to add that while the book cannot but be a joy to most vulgar enemies of religion it also provides much for the intelligent Christian, the fair-minded agnostic and every seeker after truth. That it will also make sad the heart of many righteous is perhaps for their good. A great many Christians probably will praise it, though Mr. Johnston would exclude such from the Christian pale.

The occasion of the work is that a missionary was asked to resign his connection with the China Inland Mission because he could no longer hold that the Bible taught the everlasting punishment of the unbeliever. .e later issued a circular letter on the subject, with some pamphlets, addressed

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to 'the Christian public' and innocently sent one to Mr. Johnston, and received in answer the letters before us. Hence the main theme is the doctrine of an everlasting hell, especially as a part of missionary teaching in China; but as the missionary would have accepted the doctrine if he could have found it in the Bible, we have a second main subject, the infallibility of Scripture. Many other doctrines are also touched on in the later letters, the virgin birth, the resurrection of the body, etc. To many readers the last letter will be of special interest, since it gives Mr. Johnston's own religious position.

Now a merely sinological journal cannot presume to take part in theological controversy; yet it cannot pass without notice a work by one of the most distinguished writers in China.

Mr. Johnston takes a collection of dogmas, held for some 2,000 years and surviving to-day, and assumes these are the whole of Christianity. He charges on the church the narrowest and most unlovely of beliefs, regards these alone as truly Christian, and denies the right of all who reject any of these dogmas to call themselves by the Christian name. If, for example, one cannot accept everlasting torture as part of one's creed one is no true Christian and should not call oneself so. Here Mr. Johnston is at one with the Pope and the C.I.M. director in America,—a strange trio.

This is admirably clear. But to prove the horrors of belief in a hell, the evil of accepting the Bible as infallible, and the general inadequacy, absurdity or evil tendency of various Christian dogmas, the author quotes copiously, and since he is writing to a so-called Christian he kindly draws largely from Christian theologians, bishops, missionaries and others who tell us that the old dogmas are dead: *e.g.*, that 'no intelligent person believes in hell,' and so on.

Among these comfortable utterances he states that a certain American University professor had "in all his experience only come across three male students who believed in an eternal hell." He quotes (from the *Church Quarterly*), "a universe where there was an ultimate loss of souls through the complete determination of the will towards evil would be

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an essentially atheistic universe, for it would be one in which the evil was in the end partially triumphant over good,"—a very sensible criticism, Mr. Johnston says. He states that "those within the churches show a growing tendency . . . to push hell into the background." "Sometimes Christian apologists attempt to minimize hell's importance by suggesting that very few human beings ever have been or can be sinful enough to qualify for admission." He speaks of the readiness of believers to admit that the doctrine presents serious moral difficulties," and says "the keenest critics of the orthodox Christianity of the Churches are themselves Christians."

Now what more can Mr. Johnston want?—except, indeed, to hasten the process. Since all the intellectuals are on his side why not be pleased with them? and why not give some praise to those enlightened ones who thus fight what he disapproves? He allows that these men only stay in the church on purpose to reform it, but he insists that they ought not to call themselves Christians; though the only other term he uses is 'modernist,' which leaves one very cold.

But the author's chief trouble is that the doctrine of hell is preached *to the Chinese*, and, he says, as part of the 'glad tidings of great joy.' This is a smart touch, but not fair; with practically every missionary in China the glad tidings consist in the announcing of a sure way of escape from sin and its eternal consequences, open to every human being without exception; and Mr. Johnston must also know that the lives those missionaries live among the Chinese, of more power than any doctrines preached in a chapel, show much of heaven and little of hell to all around them.

But the author feels so strongly on the subject that there is a bitter earnestness in many of his expressions, and some are even violent, offensive, and what Christians would call blasphemous: thus, "an eschatological theory which, if true, proves the Christian God to be guilty of atrocities that make Satan and the Germans look like bungling amateurs in devilry." And on p. 89 there is the suggestion that if Satan stormed heaven again, and this time conquered, "he would open the gates of hell—certainly to release his fellow-sufferers

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and possibly (who knows?) *to admit his vanquished foe.*" Such writing will prevent many from reading the book, especially the class Mr. Johnston seeks to influence, and it is most unworthy of the author. He quotes Mr. Britling's indecency about "spitting in the empty face of God," but we all recognize that this is only a popular novelist playing to the gallery—which will applaud vociferously. We expect more reverence from a religious man like the author, and we feel sure he will loathe such applause, though he cannot escape it.

We are indebted to Mr. Johnston for some noble studies of Buddhism, and in this book the references to that religion are all sympathetic. The church of Christ has had a long and often lamentable history, and it survives to-day divided, as this work shows, into a hundred parties, (ninety-nine of whom he thinks, should stand out!). Thoughtful men may ask if Buddhism is any better. How much in its history is discreditable, though its faults are not war and persecution? Amid its nobler literature and its incoherent pile of fables, puerilities and trash, how much more truth is there than can be disentangled from the Bible? Buddha as a hare once jumped into the pot to provide a meal for a Brahman, but first took care to shake the fleas from his fur that they might not die. Is this better than the talking of Balaam's ass? Finally, as we are told that Christianity is not defined (unless by its least lovely dogmas), who can define Buddhism for us and reduce it to a system which we may study and accept, without fear that other Buddhists will (mildly) call us heretics?

Similar questions might be asked about any religious system; and the fact remains that Christianity may be as bad as all its enemies can prove, and yet may be the best there is to offer to a suffering world.

The fact is that the author has not quite escaped the *odium theologicum*. We fear he takes the worst of Christianity to compare with the best in Buddhism. He claims that a Zulu taught Bishop Colenso to rebel against orthodoxy, and thinks the keen-witted Chinese could easily have put Dr. Edkins on right theological lines "if he had been less opaque." But we are not yet prepared to generalize and call every 'heathen' wiser than any Christian.

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On pages 86 and 150 there are examples of the author's humour which are blots in the book; flippancy should have no more place in such a work than scurrility. The aim of the book is a serious one. It is stated to be to "persuade some, at least, of the supporters of foreign missions not only to undertake a critical examination of the teachings and methods of the missionaries . . . but also to scrutinize with equal care the foundations of their own conceptions of belief." No doubt a further aim is to make missionaries in China examine their method and beliefs. We may disagree with much in the book, but all right-thinking men must sympathize with the expressed aim of it.

State Morality and A League of Nations, by James Walker and M. D. Petrie. T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd. 4/6 net. 1919.

This little work consists of two essays, not *pro* and *con.*, but regarding a League of Nations from two standpoints. Mr. Walker puts all his faith in political action, assuming that the state is a moral personality ready to form a brotherhood when the politicians have worked out the scheme. Miss Petrie will not believe that political action can do more than carry out what mankind demands, and can only follow, not lead, in matters of human aspiration; that the League is ideally a "mandate of humanity" as President Wilson says, and cannot be a mere political scheme. This view makes the establishment of the League far more difficult and postpones its complete realization indefinitely; for though clever men might soon elaborate a perfect plan on paper, the conversion of mankind to an active love of peace and brotherhood is a very slow process.

It must not be supposed that Miss Petrie is not as hopeful and enthusiastic as Mr. Walker, but she emphasises the limitations of politics and allows for the present unreadiness of men to enter into more than a very imperfect union; yet every small advance is something to be thankful for.

Both essays contain clear and sound thinking, and on some points are very enlightening.

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The Chinese Isles of the Blest; by Major W. Perceval Yetts. (Reprint from *Folk-Lore*, March, 1919.)

An extremely interesting and even fascinating paper dealing first with the Unnatural History of *hsien* 仙, then with the various Chinese legends of Fortunate Isles, and finally with the world-wide beliefs that "There is a Happy Land, Far far away." The Chinese stories are Taoist in origin, and are intimately connected with both art and history; more than one Chinese ruler has in later times, like the western Charles V. sought peace in a monastery; but in earlier history they fervently wished for the joys of immortality in Pêng-lai or Fu-sang, and actually sent out expeditions to locate Paradise. It is most interesting to have these legends collated with those of other races, who have also realized the need of something better than this 'vale of tears,' followed by darkness and death.

Stern law of every mortal lot,
Which man, proud man, finds hard to bear,
And builds himself, I know not what,
Of second life, I know not where.

Science has swept these islands into limbo, and a better faith has made them unnecessary. How vast a distance between the restless monarch, keen for immortality, pacing the seashore, yet afraid to embark, and the Christian poet singing

I know not where His islands lift
Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
Beyond His love and care.

The Far Eastern Review; June and July, 1919. Shanghai.

The June number is largely taken up with Chu Chi-chien's plan for the reorganization of China, including many very valuable statistical tables. There is also Sun Yat-sen's programme for the international development of China. But to many of our readers the most interesting paper will be the short account of the Lung-mên sculptures, with the perennial bitter

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outcry against the incapacity of the government to protect from vandalism these unique and rapidly vanishing treasures. The July number is naturally more full of the boycott than of anything else, but there are also accounts of the Ssŭch'uan salt-wells and the Philippine coconut. Both numbers are extremely informing and readable.

Richard Cobden, The International Man, by J. A Hobson. London; Fisher Unwin Ltd., 1918. 21/-net.

Although the Great War and the problems it has produced are the occasion of the work, it seems to deal with matters antediluvian; history and politics which some five years ago were keenly interesting have been relegated to the years before the flood, and we emerge from the war into a new world. Cobden lived and strove when there were no penny newspapers, when "our 13-inch shells of two thousand yards' range" were wonderful; when the personalities and politics of Palmerston, Bright, Disraeli and Gladstone filled the public mind and overflowed the public press. What a long while ago it seems, and how trifling now the issues which then shook the nation! Only the professional student of political history can any more be interested in the elections, divisions, measures and ministers of sixty years ago, and our little wars,—like the Crimean—may be moved onto the top shelf; surely it is only the present generation that counts!

Most readers will skip or only skim the mass of letters here given us, dealing in detail with far-off, half-forgotten things, but those who read them with an eye on the present will find them interesting enough. They shew us how unsafe it is to prophesy; how short-sighted are the views of even wise men; how often factors unsuspected come to falsify our hopes or fears; and the black becomes white, and the impossible easy. There are many wrong judgements in these old letters, and one is always tempted to a foolish regret that men cannot live long enough to see how mistaken they were.

But the chief principles that Cobden held have not been discredited. The book is to justify the title once given him of "an international man." He was an early exponent of

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views peculiar then and commonplace now. His Anti Corn-law work, and the establishment of Free Trade principles in our commerce, were only a part of his wider policy of non-intervention of governments in other nations' affairs. To him the work of Foreign Offices was mostly mischievous, while the unfettered commercial intercourse between peoples must lead to peace on earth and good will among men. He especially promoted friendship between Great Britain and her chief allies of to-day, the United States and France. Disarmament and arbitration were part of his programme; though it may make us smile now to think what "limitation of armaments" could have meant in those early days when all our ships were of wood. We are well on the way now to reforms which he advocated then and suffered for; like all reformers he was before his time, and died with only a fraction of his work complete. But he must always be held in honour both for the principles he held and the simple, clean-handed way in which he worked.

His limitations and his errors in forecasting may be illustrated by a few quotations, and some referring to the second China War will be most intelligible to most of our readers. Of course he calls the First War the 'Opium War,' and he states (without authority quoted) that the *Arrow* lorcha, at the time it occasioned the Second War, had no flag flying at all! "Inasmuch as our Government have determined that this falsehood shall be made the pretence for an attack on China" . . . and so on. All foreign merchants in China may smile at the bland simplicity of the following:—"I know precisely the course which . . . should have been pursued in China. We should adopt the plan which the rude common sense of our ancestors reverted to in the times of the Plantagenets. Then, the merchants of the Hanse Towns . . . who came to London to trade in our raw products in exchange for their manufactures, lived under a distinct code of laws . . . on condition that they lived apart and did not mingle with the natives. They were located in a walled-in place . . . near the river . . . This is the only way in which collisions can be avoided, and in which trade can be carried on with these

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Eastern people with profit to the English people, as distinct from the few filibustering British residents in the East to whom wars and confusion are often profitable." (p. 315) It seems strange he should go back to the Plantagenets as though he had never heard of the Factories in Canton; and he seems to regard the opium and the *Arrow* as the causes of war, whereas they were but the occasions, the causes being the insults and injustice of a hundred years. Again, "The Chinese have always set Europe an example of low duty on imports" . . . "I wish our trade with the continent of Europe were as free as with China, and that we had five ports or even one in France where the Chinese tariff was in force," (pp. 198-9.) He was entirely against the British views—maintained to the present day—concerning blockade in war; and during the Civil War in America he makes the cheerful declaration (in italics) "*I do not believe there will ever be another blockade.*"!

As a final sample, " . . . Free Trade as the means—and I believe the only human means—of effecting universal and permanent peace." It seems to have been quite beyond his imagination that wars for markets, and for open doors were a possibility, and that increase of industrial prosperity would bring, not peace and fat living to all workers, but the bitterest competition and economic hostility between nations.

His large vision and his shortsightedness are equally of interest; but the man himself, a successful reformer, a statesman much reviled and greatly honoured, is a figure for Englishmen to be proud of. A politician, he was an honourable man; so are they not all. Quixotic, and often mistaken, as we with our wisdom of a later generation can so easily see, he was always on the side of truth and honour and the things that make for peace.

Printed by KELLY & WALSH, Limited, for the Proprietd and Published by FREDERICK WILLIAM MOORE at 7 Duddell Street, Victoria, Hongkong.

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